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# Near East/South Asia Report

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26 April 1983

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

No. 2743

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INTERVIEW WITH OPEC'S SECRETARY GENERAL

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 275, 28 Feb 83 pp 36-38

[Interview with OPEC Secretary General Mark S. Van Nguema, conducted by Rabah Munir Shaykh al-Ard, date and place not given: "OPEC's Problem Is Political and Requires a Political Remedy!"]

[Text] Dr. Mark Van Nguema, a notable oil economist, now occupies the post of secretary general of OPEC.

In an interview with Dr Nguema, I learned about OPEC's current circumstances and the reasons behind and effects of its lack of success. This is the first interview to touch on all the severe disturbances that OPEC is now undergoing.

AL-DUSTUR: Mr Secretary General, the OPEC conference in Geneva concluded as if all hell had broken loose in the energy markets with each side going in its own direction and the difficult time of accounting at hand. You realize better than anyone else the absurdity of this gloomy and fantastic picture painted by the hostile media. What is now taking place among the OPEC members who concluded their meeting in stunned silence?

Nguema: I believe that the phase of consultation among the member states has changed its form, but it continues to exist. We are still facing an insurmountable problem for which we have not found a solution; the problem of price differences.

AL-DUSTUR: Do you mean unreasonable differences in the prices of the various members' oil exports, which differ in quality and distance from the consumer?

Nguema: Well put.

AL-DUSTUR: And how can you do yourselves and all of us a good turn by solving this problem?

Nguema: We are advancing toward a solution one step at a time, as you can see!

AL-DUSTUR: Are you also saying that the problem of price differences that "blew up" the conference, if you will permit the term, is the core of the other problems and must be solved before these other problems can be solved?

Nguema: Indeed! On the previous occasion, when we went to Vienna, we were successful in dealing with the matter of production from the standpoint of setting its maximum. But this ceiling is no longer a matter of consequence because of the difference in circumstances and conditions. You can imagine that we agreed, here in Geneva, on the assignment of production quotas within a maximum limit lower than that ceiling. This is necessarily an approximate notion as you can see. However, putting such an agreement on production quotas into effect is mandatory if we are to solve the problem of unreasonable price differences.

AL-DUSTUR: What is the next step that must be taken to solve the problem of these incomprehensible price differences?

Nguema: The next step is for us to agree on elimination of the unreasonable aspects of them.

AL-DUSTUR: Easier said than done!

Nguema: Indeed.

AL-DUSTUR: And it has been said for some time. How soon must this be done to prevent the ship from sinking further?

Nguema: As soon as it can be achieved. This depends on my fellow ministers themselves. However, let me hasten to say that I am an African, and it is the African ship that will sink before all others. Therefore, I necessarily perceive the urgent need for an agreement among the ministers of the member states at the earliest possible opportunity. However, such an agreement is a difficult matter because there is also an urgent need for the experts to conclude the process of arriving at a solution recommended by the ministers.

AL-DUSTUR: The minister of Gabon recently informed me that what the OPEC ministers have arrived at thus far is the "tail of the fish" more than anything else. And if this analogy is correct, they have undoubtedly reached it from behind rather than from the front.

Nguema: He may be right that we ended up with the "tail of the fish." However, I believe that what prompted the minister of Gabon to make this comparison is that we were within two fish or closer to achieving a definite result and then we suddenly could not find a way to put this result into effect.

AL-DUSTUR: Thus it was impossible to eat the fish!

Nguema: Exactly, because we still had the problem of the price differences in front of us.



AL-DUSTUR: The minister of Gabon also informed me that the understanding on production was closer than two tails away while the understanding on prices was farther!

Nguema: No! The understanding on the freezing of prices was complete as was the understanding on the existing differences among these prices that are not connected with the factors of quality and transport. The difference between the understanding on price and the understanding on price differences is evident and substantial, and was evident to you a little while ago.

AL-DUSTUR: It is also clear to me now, Mr Secretary General, but someone needs to talk about it. Therefore, be so kind once again as to inform me about the problem of price differences as it stands at the present. It has plagued our excellent ministers so many times in the past, but never in so disadvantageous a manner.

Nguema: My dear sir, we are facing two big problems, not just one. The first is the problem of the existing differences in oil prices within OPEC. This has a balanced effect, if you will. For example, if one of the OPEC members were to set the price of a lighter oil that he sells one of the consumers at the same level as a heavier oil than another member sells, this provides an inducement to the consumer if he wanted to buy the heavier oil. The two choices have become equivalent to him. However, the problem of price differences between the member states is not the only factor in the situation. There is another insurmountable problem imposed on us by the North Sea states, which are not members of OPEC. The impact of this problem imposed from abroad exceeds the impact of the first problem by a great deal. If OPEC were to now reach the point of suffering from both these problems at the same time, with the so-called "discount" added on top of this, then the situation faced by the organization would become extremely complex.

AL-DUSTUR: What point has OPEC reached in dealing with this situation?

Nguema: We discussed all these matters in the meeting that was just concluded. However, we have an urgent need for the experts to conduct sound studies dealing with these difficult matters. Our problems do not deal only with various trends in prices but also with various markets in which different sides are competing. There are markets in Europe, in the eastern United States, and in the Caribbean Sea.

AL-DUSTUR: There is also the spot market added to all the rest!

Nguema: Yes.

AL-DUSTUR: And this market is currently experiencing a sharp decline in prices?

Nguema: No! This is incorrect.

AL-DUSTUR: How so?

Nguema: You know that the spot market is affected by expectations of the future. These expectations depend on two factors that influence their form. The first of these is the lack of oil flowing into this market from the OPEC states, because production is very light in these states.

AL-DUSTUR: Compared to what is used to be?

Nguema: What you see in the market now is no more than nominal pricing, and this is what causes the variation in nominal prices.

AL-DUSTUR: With respect to current contracts or future contracts?

Nguema: Not with respect to contracts at all! Rather, the parties in the market are completely engaged in assumption and conjecture concerning what the contracts should be and consequently what the actual prices will be if these contracts are concluded! I do not believe that all of this will have any significant impact on the market due to another factor that I believe you cannot fail to be aware of and no one should fail to be aware of under any circumstances.

AL-DUSTUR: The effect of the other producers on the fluctuations of the market?

Nguema: Yes. OPEC is not the only producer that extracts oil and exports it to others. The most import producer-exporter countries whose behaviour has a decided effect on the fluctuations in the spot market are the North Sea oil states.

AL-DUSTUR: Not to mention the behaviour of international oil monopolies. But how do you view the impact of Britain, Mexico, and other non-OPEC states on the formulation of joint oil policy within OPEC?

Nguema: I believe that it is not difficult for anyone to comprehend OPEC's efforts to obtain the largest possible share of world demand from those who are attempting to strike at our organization by lowering the price of the oil they produce. This is the basis of the emphasis on solving the problem of price differences, not to mention the necessity of solving the internal differences at the same time.

AL-DUSTUR: The problem of prices is difficult from several aspects. First, there are price differences we might call "external" inasmuch as there are differences between the prices specified by OPEC members and the prices specified by nonmembers. Second, there are price differences we might call "internal" since they are differences among the prices of the members themselves. All of them are irrational to the extent that the price differences are not based on differences in quality, distance to the consumer, or similar market technology factors.

Nguema: Yes.

AL-DUSTUR: But the internal sides complicate the matter in turn and do not exert sufficient effort to solve them or prevent them in that they resort to the weapon of discounting to obtain the largest possible individual share of world demand without regard to the collective share that must be ensured for all members of the organization.

Nguema: Precisely. This prompted the ministers specifically to study the problem of giving discounts. Those who are employing discounting took it on themselves to gradually stop resorting to it if agreement were reached. And they have resorted to it.

AL-DUSTUR: For economic reasons?

Nguema: Not just for economic reasons. Iran, for example, said: "We admit to giving discounts on the oil we sell." But this is attributable to certain reasons that they explained to us. They said: "We are ready to adhere totally to the price if agreement is reached" on a certain thing.

AL-DUSTUR: What was the thing that Iran wanted?

Nguema: This is not important.

AL-DUSTUR: A secretary general must be both "secretary" and "general". Was Venezuela important?

Nguema: Venezuela was not a problem.

AL-DUSTUR: I thought that Nabi Balqasim (the Algerian oil minister) explained to me that Iran had a problem relating to the fact that it wanted a bigger share of oil production than the others wanted to allow?

Nguema: I believe that we are at odds on this point.

AL-DUSTUR: Very well. What are the states that are resorting to discounts on official prices?

Nguema: No, no, no! I believe that this is an aspect that was agreed on and settled in the conference.

AL-DUSTUR: It seems to me that there are two types of discounts: a direct discount given to those who buy oil in order to encourage them to buy, which leads to a reduction in the actual price but not the official price; and an indirect discount given through the sale of a group of oil products with unspecified prices along with crude oil at a specified price.

Nguema: Of course you know that this applies to all who possess the capacity to refine oil. Those who own large refineries, for example, are able to give price discounts.

AL-DUSTUR: Weren't you just a moment ago attacking the practice of giving direct discounts while you are now including indirect discounts, as well?

Nguema: What we said was "both official and hidden discounts."

AL-DUSTUR: And this means direct and indirect discounts. Very well. Has Nigeria agreed to stop granting discounts?

Nguema: Yes.

AL-DUSTUR: Did it refuse to agree on the matter of price differences?

Nguema: No, it did not reject this. However, it explained that while it is necessary to deal with the problem of differences, this should not have taken place in the conference that was held here in Geneva.

AL-DUSTUR: Therefore, it was decided to postpone it. But was this, as it was reported to be, the result of pressure or a veiled threat applied by the Gulf states to force Nigeria to accept another position that it would not have accepted otherwise?

Nguema: No!

AL-DUSTUR: At any moment of the conference that was concluded here in Geneva, did one of the Gulf states put forward the possibility that it might resort to lowering prices to achieve a settlement to the difficult problem of price differences?

Nguema: No one made any threat, no one applied any pressure, and no one ever expressed any desire to lower the price. Rather, the atmosphere of the conference was one of extreme mutual friendliness.

AL-DUSTUR: But I saw Mani' Sa'id al-'Utaybah (oil minister of the UAE) when he was leaving the conference hall and there were signs of anger or annoyance on his face. I also saw Amad Zaki Yamani (the Saudi oil minister) trying to hide his anger under a smile.

Nguema: Indeed. It was unfortunate that we came very close to agreement and then we were frustrated and met with failure.

AL-DUSTUR: As occurred in May 1981?

Nguema: No! In May 1981, we met with a different kind of failure. We have achieved much progress since that time. And if we consider the accomplishments that this progress has allowed us to achieve--

AL-DUSTUR: Such as the agreement on production quotas, for example.

Nguema: Yes, for example--then I am certain that our attainment of a solution to the problem of price differences in the near future will be for the general welfare.

AL-DUSTUR: Aren't you overoptimistic on this? Gharazi, for instance, informed me that he was surprised by the problem of price differences when he arrived at the conference! This is not good preparation.

Nguema: Of course, no one informed him of them.

AL-DUSTUR: How can OPEC be an organization if this is its situation?

Nguema: You can imagine the reason. The man was not invited to the al-Manamah meeting in Bahrain.

AL-DUSTUR: I didn't think that they invited him to al-Manamah. But isn't this an indication of a break in communications?

Nguema: Possibly!

AL-DUSTUR: And this is attributable to the abolition of the "monitoring committee."

Nguema: Who said that it was abolished?

AL-DUSTUR: Shaykh 'Ali Khalifah al-Sabah (Kuwaiti oil minister).

Nguema: It is unreasonable for him to have said this. But this was a story published by the French newspaper LE MONDE, and not everything you read in the newspapers is true.

AL-DUSTUR: I don't know what LE MONDE said, but I know what the shaykh told me in response to a question on the future of the "monitoring committee" just after the Vienna conference came to an aimless conclusion. He said, "There is nothing for it to monitor!"

Nguema: The statement that there is nothing for the monitoring committee to monitor does not mean it has been abolished. It decided to meet immediately after the conclusion of the Geneva conference.

AL-DUSTUR: The important thing is for the oil ministers themselves to meet in another general conference to settle the problems faced by OPEC.

Nguema: This is our utmost hope and expectation. We are looking forward to another meeting to be held at the end of February.

AL-DUSTUR: Where do you expect it to be?

Nguema: In Vienna (Austria) or Jakarta (Indonesia).

AL-DUSTUR: However, before such a meeting takes place, there must be good preparation. You, Mr Secretary General, are an important economist and an unsurpassed authority on oil matters. If I were to ask you to come up with a solution to this unfortunate problem of price differences that OPEC is facing and you arrived at a technical remedy approved by the experts and

agreed to by the ministers, do you believe that this would be sufficient to rescue OPEC from its financial and commercial diseases and remedy its structural economic predicament?

Nguema: No. The problem, to be frank, is not something which we as economists and technical specialists can remedy. The problem is political and requires a political solution. We should attack it in our role as politicians.

AL-DUSTUR: How do you view this in light of the current actions of Britain, Norway, and Nigeria?

Nguema: One can easily understand Nigeria's situation. It is dealing in the markets of Western Europe, the markets of the East Coast of the United States, and in the markets of the Caribbean Sea. In all of these markets, the competition is not limited to Nigeria but includes all the African producers. Each of us competes with oil producers in the North Sea. The North Sea producers compound this competition by lowering their prices. Thus, even if the price difference did not exceed \$1.50 a barrel, it would be difficult for the African producers to confront this competition. Of course, I understand the situation of the other producers in the Gulf. What they say contains a certain amount of truth if one considers the different varieties of oil unrestrictedly and compares them one by one. However, an unrestricted look is not enough. One must now take the actual situation into consideration and the current situation makes it difficult to market crude African oil in the face of the high official price of OPEC compared to the prices of nonmember countries.

AL-DUSTUR: Based on this remark, do you consider that the Gulf states refuse to acknowledge the situation or refuse to accept it?

Nguema: No! However, they have another way of looking at it. They say, as you realized before, that there are two problems at the same time. I believe that the individual who formulated this best was the Iraqi representative--

AL-DUSTUR: Ramzi Salman?

Nguema: Yes, and he is a good economist. What he said is correct. He said: "We are facing two problems. There are internal price differences among the member states and there are other differences between the member states and the nonmember oil exporting states."

AL-DUSTUR: And these are the external differences you spoke of between the OPEC states and the North Sea producers and Mexico, in particular. But this is not limited to the African producers in OPEC.

Nguema: That is true. The Gulf states and the African states share the same problem because all of them are unable to sell now.

AL-DUSTUR: With the current production levels and the state or world demand.

Nguema: This is not all. The internal differences in price are not as big as is dictated by differences in quality and other factors in true price differences. The external differences with regard to the African states put them in a critical situation.

AL-DUSTUR: You said that this problem is political. Do you believe that Britain backed by the United States along with the international oil companies and the International Energy Agency they all are members of is intent on influencing OPEC through these external differences for political reasons?

Nguema: What I meant was that the problem is political from the standpoint that it requires debate that is not restricted to the OPEC level but extends to all producer-exporters, both members and nonmembers.

AL-DUSTUR: In this, you are using the term "political" in its "micro" sense, as they say, rather than in its "macro" sense.

Nguema: We are fully aware that the positions adopted by the nonmember states in their organization are not purely economic but are basically dictated by considerations which are best described as "noneconomic." You can interpret these however you wish.

AL-DUSTUR: I interpret them as the desire of the Western industrial states to shackle OPEC because its states are "developing" states. It is part of the war of the West against the South. But if we consider this conflict between the Western and Southern energy fronts the basis of what led to OPEC's failure to reach an understanding and an agreement thus far--

Nguema: I do not consider it a "failure," but rather "temporary difficulties."

AL-DUSTUR: Whatever term is used, if we consider this to be the case, which in my opinion it is, why doesn't OPEC invite Mexico--which is a developing state that is supposed to give help to the South rather than helping against it--to participate with OPEC in one plan to reorganize the oil market and reach an understanding with it on a joint policy on production and price levels, especially since certain OPEC states have lent it a helping hand financially to rescue it from its current predicament and its subordination to the United States?

Nguema: The reason is simple. It is not a member of OPEC.

AL-DUSTUR: But this does not mean a thing. Didn't the former Iraqi oil minister invite it to join in the oil and development conference that you invited us to in Vienna in the winter of 1981?

Nguema: I do not know that he invited Mexico officially to participate.

AL-DUSTUR: Very well, why don't you invite it now? Does the sword precede justice?

Nguema: This requires a special conference.

AL-DUSTUR: Everything in OPEC requires a special conference! I believe that it is impossible for you to invite Britain to join PEC:

Nguema: Fantasy!

AL-DUSTUR: I do not want you to invite Britain because it is part of the front of the North and a member of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development and the anti-OPEC "International Energy Agency."

Nguema: You see that there are 13 members in our organization and we are not free from internal problems. Why do you want to make it 14?

AL-DUSTUR: Especially a country such as Mexico or Britain?

Nguema: What I want you to be convinced of, in any case, is that OPEC is still alive.

AL-DUSTUR: You mean the counter-OPEC force is incapable of destroying the original OPEC to the same extent that imitations of any kind can never replace the real thing.

Nguema: All of its members realize fully the necessity of solidarity and unity, because this is necessary for all of them. For whatever our views, our judgments, or our interests might be, we all ultimately agree on continuing to search for the solution that will bring us together in this common ship we are in with regard to price differences or any other problem facing any one of our member countries.

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COMMUNIQUE ON ALGERIAN PARTY VISIT TO SAO TOME

PM111308 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 28 Mar 83 p 16

[Unattributed report: "The Two Sides Condemn Obstacles to Africa's Liberation"]

[Text] A joint communique was issued by the FLN Party and the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe [MLSTP] at the end of the visit to Sao Tome and Principe by a FLN Party delegation:

At the MLSTP Central Committee's invitation, a FLN Party delegation visited the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe 11 through 15 March 1983 and was headed by Mr Zemirline Ahmed, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the Department for Relations with Organizations and Movements.

During its visit the FLN delegation was received by President Manuel Pinto Da Costa, chairman of the MLSTP and president of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

It was also received by Mrs Alda Graca Do Espirito Santo, member of the Central Committee Politburo, chief of the MLSTP ideological policy section and chairman of the popular assembly, and by Mrs Mario Do Nascimento Da Graca Amorim, member of the Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs.

The talks between the FLN Party delegation and the MLSTP delegation, which bore the stamp of friendship, fraternity and militant solidarity, related to bilateral relations, to ways and means of developing them and to the international situation, especially in Africa.

The FLN Party and the MLSTP exchanged information on the development of their parties and the important strides made in developing and building socialism in their respective countries.

The FLN Party delegation congratulated the MLSTP for the success of its third extraordinary assembly and the MLSTP also wished the FLN Party every success in its forthcoming fifth congress.

During these talks the questions now of concern to mankind--the struggle for peace, national independence, the social progress of peoples and socialism--were widely discussed.

The two delegations reviewed the serious problems facing the African continent and concluded that the threats of imperialism and its allies in the region are aimed at hindering its total liberation, perpetuating their control over its resources, destabilizing the progressive countries and attempting to weaken their support for the liberation movements.

#### Support for the Namibian People

Analyzing the situation in Southern Africa the FLN Party and the MLSTP condemned the maneuvers and delays of the Western powers and the racist Pretoria regime aimed at delaying the inevitable independence of the fraternal Namibian people, who are waging a heroic struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative. The two delegations strongly condemned the odious apartheid regime in South Africa and the cowardly attacks it is constantly launching against the frontline countries, especially against the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola.

The FLN Party and the MLSTP reiterated their active support for the fraternal peoples of Mozambique and Angola and appealed to all countries which love peace, justice and freedom to combine their efforts to end the apartheid system, which is a challenge to the universal conscience and a violation of the most elementary human rights.

The two delegations reaffirmed the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria's and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe's unswerving support for the fraternal South African people and the African National Congress, their vanguard.

After examining the situation in the West Sahara the two delegations reiterated their unswerving support and active backing for the struggle of the Saharan people under the leadership of the POLISARIO, their sole legitimate representative, to assert their inalienable right to independence and national sovereignty with respect for their territorial integrity.

The FLN Party and the MLSTP stated that, in keeping with the OAU decisions, the nonaligned movement's recommendations and the UN resolutions, direct negotiations between the SDAR and Morocco are the only way to establishing a just and lasting peace in the West Sahara.

Considering that the OAU continues to be the appropriate framework for solving all inter-African problems on the basis of the principles laid down in its charter, the FLN Party and the MLSTP reaffirmed their fidelity to that organization's ideals and objectives.

In this connection the two delegations condemned the maneuvers of imperialism and its allies in the region aimed at causing divisions with the OAU.

The two delegations reaffirmed that there can be no just, comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Palestinian problem without recognition of the Palestinian people's right to build an independent state and without withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

The FLN Party and the MLSTP reiterated their unswerving support for the Palestinian people's struggle under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

The two delegations condemned the imperialist maneuvers and aggressions aimed at bringing about the partition of Lebanon.

They reaffirmed their active solidarity with the Lebanese people and their progressive forces to safeguard Lebanon's national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

#### Seventh Nonaligned Summit: Postive Results

The FLN Party and the MLSTP reiterated their militant solidarity with and unswerving support for all liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America and with all just causes in the world.

The two delegations reiterated their commitment to the principles and ideals of the nonaligned movement, which remains an important factor in solving international problems, prompting international cooperation and safeguarding security in the world. They welcomed the positive results of the seventh summit in New Delhi.

The two delegations are convinced that the establishment of the new international economic order depends on a radical and far-reaching change in the present framework of international relations, which are based on inequality, injustice and dependence.

They consider that such a change requires global negotiations in the UN framework and the political will to give priority to seeking practical solutions to all the problems which relate to the developing countries.

They are also convinced that the establishment and intensification in all spheres of South-South cooperation among developing countries both at the regional and at the interregional level is an essential aspect of international cooperation in the framework of establishing the new international economic order.

In this respect the two delegations welcomed the important progress made in developing bilateral cooperation and reaffirmed their desire to further develop and enrich it in the two peoples' interest.

In this framework a cooperation agreement for 1983-1984 was signed by the FLN Party and the MLSTP.

The Algerian delegation noted with satisfaction the important progress made by the Sao Tome revolution in building socialism under the leadership of its vanguard, the MLSTP.

The FLN Party delegation thanked the MLSTP for the warm and fraternal welcome it was given. It expressed to the fraternal people of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, to the MLSTP and to its chairman Mr Manuel Pinto Da Costa the fraternity militant solidarity and great respect felt by the Algerian people, their vanguard the FLN Party and its secretary general brother Chadli Bendjedid.

The Algerian delegation invited a MLSTP delegation to make a visit to Algeria. The invitation was accepted with pleasure and the date will be fixed later by joint agreement.

CSO: 4500/176

## BRIEFS

ACCORD WITH ARGENTINA--Buenos Aires, 14 Apr (APS)--Algeria and Argentina signed in Buenos Aires a governmental accord ruling their commercial exchanges giving an example of a concrete judicial frame for cooperation between developing countries. The two countries decided through this accord to give a real example to South-South cooperation. The list of products to be exchanged will go beyond basic products and will be extended to the two countries industrial possibilities. It is also expected from this accord that exchanges between the two countries are going to increase during the coming years, while taking into account the deficit of the Algerian balance sheet. In 1982, exchanges between the two countries reached 140 million dollars. The Algerian balance sheet showed a deficit of 100 million dollars. In this connection, the Algerian side invited the Argentinian responsables to examine this balance of which does not show the two countries political willingness and mainly their economic and commercial possibilities. [Text] [Algiers APS in English 1035 GMT 14 Apr 83 LD]

CSO: 4500/179

# RESULTS OF ENGINEERS', JOURNALISTS' UNION ELECTIONS REVIEWED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2524, 9 Mar 83 pp 8, 9

[Article by Usamah 'Ajjaj: "In Complete Freedom: How Did the Stormiest of Journalists' and Engineers' Union Elections Take Place?"]

[Text] Election year has begun with the two most tempestuous campaigns in the history of the union movement in Egypt. The first was on the territory of the Journalists' Union, and the second was on the territory of the Engineers' Union.

In the two campaigns, election publicity concealed itself behind a "screen" of services, the resolution of communications and housing problems and salary reform.

However, the high level of the voters enabled them easily to determine the various currents that were concealed behind this publicity; it was known in advance which of these currents the candidates belonged to.

However, a phenomenon that is worth recording, in both campaigns, is that there was no government or party intervention from outside the arena of the two unions.

The result was balanced, since trust was restored, and the members were re-elected in total freedom: Salah Jalal as head of the Journalists' Union and 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman as head of the Engineers' Union.

At the same time, a change occurred in the faces of the council members. Some people departed, and new ones came in, thanks to the activity of some young leaders.

No one got angry. The results, in the end, in spite of their harsh nature as far as some people were concerned, held that this was the decision of "the family" and that all the competing "brethren" had to honor the decision, as long as it was not imposed upon us from the outside.

Let us now proceed together to the details of this moving campaign.

In the Journalists' Union, all appearances confirmed that this campaign would be a decisive one. Salah Jalal was the head of the Journalists' Union in the previous session, and Kamil Zuhayri had also been a union head for two sessions.

From the day the nominations were first accepted, it became clear that the campaign would be stormy. Everyone stressed that the government would not interfere in the elections.

Publicity for Kamil Zuhayri began to appear in the opposition papers, along with an intense attack on Salah Jalal, and some people who had disputes with board chairmen intervened to assert that Salah Jalal had not taken a strong position on their behalf against the board chairmen.

Matters became clearer in the symposium in which the two candidates for the position of union chief took part. Salah Jalal stated his position: he, as union head, had not been able to do more than he did. He had declared his refusal to confront al-Sadat, and the union board had determined not to resign, in order that it could continue to stay in contact with the government in an effort to make matters easier for the journalists who had been put in detention.

#### The Members Also

The stormy nature of the campaign was not just restricted to the elections for union head; it went beyond that, to the candidates for the boards of members. Although six members were to be elected, 19 submitted papers to run. They differed as to their tendencies, and it became apparent that there were three main areas of concern that were involved with the desire to get on the Journalists' Union board.

The first area of concern believed that the union must be able to serve its members, especially since most of them were young people who needs to have their professional level raised through language courses, as well as having their housing problems resolved and their salaries raised. Usamah Saraya and Jalal 'Isa represented this tendency.

The second point of concentration asserted that the union had to be strong and able to confront the government and defend the union in confronting any transgressions against its law or its members. This was represented by Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq and Samir Tadrus.

The third point of concentration entered the election in order to settle internal scores in its own organization.

The panels that the union organized for the members, in which they could present their ideas and programs, offered an opportunity for general assembly members to choose their candidates to the board as well. It became apparent that the political parties had not distanced themselves from the members' campaign, and lists belonging to the National Party and the opposition parties made an appearance. In addition, alliances also started to appear among members, aside from these lists, and no one was able any longer to determine at any moment who would win the campaign for the union head or membership.

#### Elections and Rain!

Last Friday, the day of the elections, was marked by chill climatic conditions, but the discussions in the general assembly of the Journalists' Union helped heat up the climate in the area around the union.

The voting process began. It was akin to an armistice in the extreme tension that had pervaded the meetings of the general assembly. At 1700 hours sharp the boxes were sealed so that the process of maintaining suspense could resume with the counting of the ballots. The first three boxes, which were from the ladies' committees, showed Kamil Zuhayri leading by more than 43 votes. After that the lead started to narrow and by the final boxes Salah Jalal had started leading by more than 10 votes. The suspense reached its peak in the final box; when the counting started on that, Salah was leading by four votes. Everyone started to repeat the candidate's name after it was declared: "Three for Salah, "Two votes for Salah," "One vote for Kamil," "Two votes for Kamil," "A tie," "A vote for Salah," "Two votes." In the final tally, it became evident that Salah Jalal led by three votes, since he obtained 476 while Kamil Zuhayri got 473, and the cries and ululations began.

The male members' boxes produced the same effect: up to the last box, no one could determine which candidate was going to win. A single box could have overturned all predictions.

At 0100 hours Saturday morning, the names of the winning candidates started to appear, and they were, in order: among the people getting votes for more than 15 years, Aminah Shafiq got 555 votes, Jalal 'Arif 463 votes, and Jalal 'Isa 429 votes; among those getting votes for less than 15 years, Isamah Sarayah got 419 votes, Muhammad Salmawi 416 votes, and Muhammad 'Awad 410 votes.

A further glance at the differences among the votes of the people who won will confirm that the campaign was stormy; no more than three votes separated Usamah Saraya and Muhammad Salmawi, while there was a difference of 100 between Aminah Shafiq and Jalal 'Arif.

#### The Union Head Speaks

In a statement he made to AKHIR SA'AH before going off to attend the nonaligned summit meetings, the head of the Journalists' Union, Salah Jalal, said, in his evaluation of this election campaign, "I can assert this time that no one can claim that there has been interference on anyone's part, even through hints or signs, near or far, or even by allusion. For 2 months the opposition newspapers have been devoting entire pages to the elections and to me but not a line was written about me in any nationwide paper. Even when I sent a statement of a few lines to be published last Friday along with the meeting of the general assembly, it was published only in AL-AHRAM.

"As far as the statement some people have raised, to the effect that invalid votes were cast for Kamil Zuhayri, the vote count took place in the presence of the general assembly and the candidates and their representatives, and, when doubts were raised concerning votes, the view of the general assembly was taken, and it agreed to consider these votes invalid. The result was announced by the person who was in charge of the elections, who was the union secretary. Anyone who has comments to make can take legal measures. Among the legal measures for the elections is fact that the election boxes and their stubs, and the lists of the members, will be kept for a period of 3 months, to take account of any contestations, and this was done in the presence of Kamil Zuhayri



and his representatives. The same thing happened with respect to the previous elections, when Hasan al-Sharqawi made a contestation in court, and his contestation was rejected."

#### Attention to Young Journalists

Concerning his future program, Salah Jalal said, "We will continue the start we have made in supporting the economic independence of the union.

"In the upcoming stage, I will concentrate on young journalists, now that I have provided pensions for older ones. In this area, a decision has been made to raise the minimum wage, and the workers' wages and raises have been arranged in a way where their material conditions may be improved, while the professional level of the young journalists has been raised through language courses; about 270 journalists have enrolled in these and completed them, and there will be larger numbers of people in the next stage of study at the American University.

"As far as housing is concerned, the government has promised us a specific number of apartments, but it has not fulfilled all its promise, and we have not received the number that was agreed on. In the upcoming stage I will put pressure on the press organizations to help solve the young journalists' housing problems as a part of their responsibility, and I will try to carry out the resolution the general assembly agreed to that the union should enter as a party to work contracts between journalists and organizations, so that we may play a more effective role in solving the problems journalists have with their management."

Suhayr al-Husayni wrote:

In the Engineers' Union, Eng 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman won the position of union head for the second time, getting 12,440 out of 13,000 votes. The union head stood up in the midst of the throng of engineers. It was an appropriate occasion; he repeatedly said, "I have been very greatly honored in all the countries of the world and in Egypt, but the greatest honor have I received in my life was when my engineer colleagues elected me with such unanimity."

As he stated this, his face shook with emotion over the extreme emotional impact. After much effort, I managed to sit down with him for a few minutes, away from the crowds.

I asked, "Before the results were announced, did you expect to win by this large percentage?"

He said, "No, I felt that I would win, but not by this percentage. No. However, I would like to say that engineers are aware persons who fully evaluate, understand and realize what they want and what services they can perform."

I asked, "What is your analysis of the large figure by which you won?"

He said, "The union consists of services, and in the past years the engineers realized what I had offered to the union. With thanks to God, from the economic standpoint the union has become very well off through me and as a

result of the projects and companies we established. When I came into the union, its income and assets all together came to no more than 3 million pounds; today, they total 22 million pounds, although the general union contributes to the construction and support of 31 branch unions; thus, the union now has a branch in every governorate the sum of 2 million pounds speaking in the name of the engineers and working to serve them.

I asked, "Before the elections, it was clear that the campaign you faced would not be easy, in fact that many fronts were working against you. Didn't this make you think again, or back off from entering the elections?"

He said, "All my life I have had clear principles. These are my belief in God and in affiliation with the country, and the love of what is beneficial. These principles make me strong and bold. I clung to these principles since I started my career, and I always had a strong belief that there was hope, that the impossible was possible, that beneficial things were on their way, that talk should involve the truth, not an invention, that talk should involve a position, and not a profession, and that God hears, sees and knows what is in people's hearts and opens doors for us where we do not see them. These are the things I have clung to. God has always been with me in all the difficulties that have faced me."

#### The Union Consists of Services

I asked, "If I were to ask Eng 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman what union activity in the past 4 years has contributed to you, and then add, what have you contributed to it, what would you say?"

He said, "Union activity has contributed a great deal to me. It is sufficient that it has brought me very close to engineers. I have lived in their midst, felt their problems, and tried to find appropriate solutions to them. I have never been far away from the engineers at any time, by virtue of my work, but in the union there is a broader base of communication."

#### Housing for Every Engineer

I asked, "What is your program for the coming union term?"

He said, "The most important thing in the next 4 years, with God's permission, is that I will attach the problem of housing for engineers. I will strive by every means to enable male and female engineers to get housing without down payments, or at a reasonable rent for a number of years, after which they will proceed to own it. That can be carried out, as I envision it, through the establishment of cooperative housing societies for engineers throughout the republic. These cooperative societies will have the legitimate authority to receive down payments from the Cooperative Authority and in addition it is possible that the government will give them land to build on at token prices. What is housing? It is resources and fabricated goods. This massive number of societies will enable us to obtain materials at prices 40 to 50 percent lower than those on the market. The construction activities will depend greatly on the graduates of training institutes and intermediate institutes, and our

slogan will be 'build your dwelling yourself.' Secondly, we will build the housing and hand it over to the engineers unfinished, and they will have to complete the work themselves."

I asked, "Haven't you thought of a corresponding project for housing the young people of Egypt?"

He said, "After the project for housing the engineers is completed, we will apply this experiment throughout the republic in general, because in my opinion this is the only solution for eliminating the problem of housing in Egypt."

#### My Experience with Politics

I asked, "Through your political life in the recent period, what expertise have you acquired in the course of this experiment?"

He said, "I am a man of economics, not politics. God has given me this talent, and my long-standing practice has supported this; therefore, all my economic projects have been successful, with thanks to God."

We are left with one comment:

The comment deals with the cry that went up in both the unions: "We want to change the union heads. They represent the government and the National Party, and all forms of outside intervention!"

Everyone bore witness that there was no form of intervention this time. In spite of that, the journalists and the engineers, by their own choice, selected the same union heads. Who intervened this time? It is just a question.

11887

CSO: 4504/257

# ENORMOUS BUILDING COLLAPSE RESULTS IN NUMEROUS DEATHS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 7 Mar 83 p 1

[Article: "The Collapse of a Modern 10-Story Building in Heliopolis"]

[Text] A recently built 10-story building collapsed after midnight yesterday on al-Hurriyah Street in Heliopolis. The building, which consisted of 20 apartments, more than half of them still vacant, was reduced to a heap of rubble and everyone in it died. It seems likely that they were 17 in number; five bodies have been removed from the rubble so far.

The building collapsed on top of a villa that was situated behind it, owned by Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz Radi, the deputy minister of tourism; he died along with his daughter Nellie, who was married and living in Saudi Arabia and had come to visit her family, and Sally, a lecturer in the Language Faculty. Meanwhile, his wife was spared, and was taken to the hospital in serious condition.

The building that had collapsed was the property of a painting contractor named Hasan 'Ali al-Fakharani, who started his career as a mason. He perished in the rubble, as did seven members of his family -- his wife, his two sons, his daughter, his daughter in law and two of his grandchildren -- while two other sons were saved, one of them an airline steward who was spending the night abroad and came back to find the building in ruins, and a student who had been doing homework with a friend. In addition, an officer from the emirates who had been living in one of the apartments in the building and a Hungarian oil company employee and his wife and two sons died in the wreckage.

It appears that the owner of the building had obtained a permit to build just six stories and built four additional stories without a permit. A fine was levied against him, and the case was still being reviewed. He had moved in to reside in the apartment with his family just a month ago, and only seven of the apartments in the building were being occupied, while the finishing work was being done on the remaining apartments preparatory to deeding them out.

Rescue teams rushed over and started removing the debris as soon as the accident occurred, in order to take the bodies of the victims away. They were also outfitted with special equipment for determining the locations of people who were still alive.

Ahmad Sabri, the head of the Heliopolis Public Prosecutor's Office, ordered that a committee of Engineering Faculty professors be formed to investigate the building that had collapsed and determine the causes of the incident. He also demanded that building number 39, which was adjacent to the one that had collapsed, be investigated once it was emptied of residents.

11887

CSO: 4504/257

## EGYPT

### BRIEFS

CULTURAL COOPERATION PROGRAM WITH SPAIN--Cairo, 14 Apr (MENA)--Egypt and Spain concluded today an executive programme for cultural cooperation whereby the two countries would exchange scholarships, visits and experts in the higher-education field. The programme also provides for cooperation in the cultural field. The programme was signed, on the Egyptian side, by Ambassador 'Ali Shawqi al-Hadidi, director of cultural relations and technical cooperation department at the Foreign Ministry, while the director of the Spanish Arab Institute for Culture signed for his country. [Text] [NC141208 Cairo MENA in English 1010 GMT 14 Apr 83]

OFFICER TO VISIT MOSCOW--A senior Egyptian officer will leave for Moscow in the next few days. As far as is known, this will be the first visit by an Egyptian military man to the Soviet Union since relations between the armies of both countries were severed. This has been learned by our military correspondent Shmu'el Tal. The background for the visit is unclear but it may be a feeler in anticipation of the resumption of military ties between Egypt and the Soviet Union. Egypt today relies mainly on Western weapons. [Text] [TA141210 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 14 Apr 83]

JAPANESE, IBRD LOANS APPROVED--During today's meeting under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the Higher Committee for Policy and Economic Affairs approved the Japanese investments loan to Egypt, amounting to 29 billion yen, equivalent to \$126.5 million. The loan will contribute to the implementation of a number of projects including the Damanhur electricity station, the third stage of the development of the Greater Cairo water supply network and land reclamation in the Al-Sharqiyah governorate. Cabinet Affairs Minister Counselor 'Adil 'Abd al-Baqi has stated that the committee also approved the Japanese Government's grant to Egypt, amounting to 26 million yen. The Higher Committee approved the IBRD draft loan amounting to \$41.5 million to renew the irrigation pumping stations in Upper and Lower Egypt. The Higher Committee also approved another IBRD loan amounting to \$38 million for the establishment of technical and industrial training centers for technicians. [Text] [NC131606 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 13 Apr 83]

NILE WATER AUTHORITY -- Meetings of the Permanent Joint Nile Water Technical Authority have started in Khartoum. These are discussing the work that has been carried out on the Jonglei Canal, where half the length of the canal, which is 360 kilometers in length, has been excavated. Work on that will end in 1985 and it will save about 4 billion cubic meters of Nile water, which will be divided between Egypt and the Sudan. The authority is also discussing the executive plan for construction work on the canal, which will cost \$90 million, and the authority has received agreement in principle from the countries of the European Common Market to finance it. The authority is also discussing the studies bearing on the Mashar Project and future activity bearing on comprehensive cooperation with the countries of the Nile basin. Eng 'Abd-al-Hadi Samahah, the minister of irrigation, discussed the final accounts of the general assembly of the joint Egyptian Sudanese irrigation project and facilities company, and the activities necessary to stimulate the company. The Egyptian and Sudanese parties agreed to support the company's activity and assign some work concerned with the integration projects and some construction work in the Northern Province in the Sudan. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 7 Mar 83 p 9]

11887

CSO: 4504/257

INTERVIEW WITH MU'AMMAR AL-QADHDHAFI

NC172223 Athens TO VIMA in Greek 17 Apr 83 p 7

[Article by M. N. Raptis]

[Excerpts] In a scene that reminded me of a desert, even though it was surrounded by the lights of the city of Benghazi, in the rather dark distance, I saw Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi and I had quite a long discussion with him.

I first asked the Colonel's opinion on the present situation in the Arab world--the aftermath of the war in Lebanon, the continuing Iraq-Iran war and the new developments regarding Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.

Al-Qadhdhafi denied any new developments on this last point, particularly regarding Libyan-Algerian relations which, according to him, are being preserved in the same friendly manner as in the past.

The Middle East situation remains very crucial and is steadily oriented toward war, even in the eventuality of the establishment of a small Palestinian state. In essence, the war will be between all the Arabs and Israel, which endangers the existence of the Arab nation. The war in Lebanon and the slaughter of the Palestinians and Lebanese removed all the Israeli trump cards and exposed Zionism as a neo-Nazi movement. Not even Hitler dared to employ the abhorrent and cynical methods which Israel used in slaughtering them.

Al-Qadhdhafi believes that the Iraq-Iran war weakens the Arab front, but that the fuel that maintains and extends this war is Arab oil and Arab aid, which certain Arab states in the Persian Gulf continue to offer to Iraq. Without this aid from Arab reaction the war would have already ended.

To a question regarding how he judges the present crucial phase in the international situation, the Colonel stressed the situation will remain the same and will even be exacerbated as long as President Reagan is in power. His policy, he stressed, is childish and irresponsible, and if it continues it may lead to a third world war, particularly if Reagan



is reelected. This is why the Colonel believes that an appeal by the world peoples to the U.S. people is necessary, in order to urge them to put an end to Reagan's administration and particularly not to reelect him.

To a question on what he thinks about his country's relations with Greece and Papandreou's government, he replied without hesitation that these relations are excellent. They will be preserved and developed further on this level and they will not meet any obstacle, particularly as long as Papandreou's government is in power.

With regard to the Greek prime minister, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi found it necessary to stress that he considers him a friend.

CSO: 4500/180

## LIBYAN WEEKLY ATTACKS ARMY CORRUPTION

PM141513 London AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR in English 1 Apr 83 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed article: "Military Corruption"]

[Text] The extent of the corruption in the army is now so great that something needs to be done about it at once. The best thing would be for the People's Congresses to hold an emergency meeting to take a decision to dissolve the army and thereby complete the process of putting defence in the hands of the people.

Arming the people has been a prime revolutionary objective ever since the Declaration of the Establishment of the People's Authority in March 1977. There were several reasons why the creation of an armed people was considered to be a far better alternative to a continued reliance on the regular armed forces.

Some of these reasons were reasons of practicality and strategy. As a country with a small population, the Libyan Jamahiriyah has to make the best use possible of its military resources, including, of course, its manpower resources. All the evidence of past conflicts between great powers and resolute peoples in arms has shown that not even the greatest power or the most sophisticated weapons could overcome a mass revolution.

But these were not the only reasons for the creation of the armed people. There were others. The Libyan armed forces had, after all, been inherited from the old regime. Although the revolutionaries who led the Revolution in 1969 were from the army, they were not, so to speak, "of the army," since they had decided to use the army to further their revolutionary objectives. That was a long time ago now and one very good reason for arming the people was to deny the regular forces the chance, however remote the possibility, of denying the people their authority to rule.

#### Reactionary Trends

This possibility may not be an immediate one just yet, but there is no doubt that reactionary trends have firmly established themselves within the army. These trends have the outward manifestation of chronic corruption, which has grown so bad that it is no longer possible to remain silent on the matter.

To take some examples of the illegal activities of some army officers, the people know very well that officers are importing both alcohol and narcotics and are trading in these within the Jamahiriyah. On top of this army officers are abusing their positions by acting as brokers and by indulging in favouritism.

The majority of the contraband now being seized at airports and seaports belongs to army officers, be it alcohol or other goods. Banned goods and cars can now be seen in the streets and army officers are heavily involved in smuggling. Rampant nepotism within the army is both family and tribally-based and some of the officers involved in the various illegal practices even hold medals and decorations and are close to the centres of power.

In Tobruk some military personnel have engaged in smuggling, while claiming to be engaged in the protection of the Libyan Jamahiriyah. In the towns, the corrupt military men wear their medals and swear at members of the revolutionary committees and make statements which show their contempt for the people's authority. They spend their time off-duty getting drunk with the bourgeoisie.

This then is the army the future of which should be reviewed without a second's delay. Every minute that passes without action being taken against the reactionary establishment within the military weakens the authority of the people. Every extra day in the careers of the military reactionaries threatens the integrity of revolutionary institutions.

The reactionaries within the army are as great a threat as were the military regimes of Batista and Franco to the Cuban and Spanish peoples and the juntas in Chile and Guatemala today. The corrupt men within the army are following directly in the footsteps of corrupt military men in other countries.

#### Capable Young Men

Tens of thousands of capable young men who are able to do constructive and productive work are being allowed by the people to do nothing as members of a reactionary establishment which is dominated by corrupt and ignorant men whose sole preoccupation lies in thinking of how to import their urgently needed contraband.

These corrupt military men spend their time thinking of how to obtain commissions (in plainer language bribes) for the favours they do others and how to develop their positions as middle-men so that they can increase their ill-gotten earnings. Things have deteriorated to the extent that if you want anything from a bag of rice to a passport, an exit visa or a new car, then all you need to do is get in touch with an army officer.

The only possible cure for this situation is the destruction of this reactionary establishment, which within the army should be carried out by the revolutionary committees and outside it by the armed people themselves.

It is now the duty of the people's congresses to gather together for an emergency meeting where they can take the decision to dissolve the army and send idle men to rehabilitation and training centres. These men can be employed in work of benefit to the community instead of just leaving them alone as members of a body which has accomplished nothing in the long history of the struggle to liberate the occupied lands.

The presence of a reactionary force within the army has in fact obstructed the emergence of a new generation, which is both armed and educated to meet the challenges of the future, a generation with a firm faith in its homeland and in its religion.

Arab conventional armies have failed to liberate Palestine and they have also failed to confront the enemy. They have not lived up to the Arab masses' expectations of them and their only achievements have been coup d'etats and the continued oppression of their peoples.

Under these circumstances, the existence of an army can only bring shame and humiliation to the Arab Nation. The military have lost their principles and have forgotten the values of the people and the aims of the revolution. They deserve to be regarded as a fifth column within society and because of this the people's congresses must not shirk their responsibility to preserve their freedom by destroying the reactionary military establishment.

CSO: 4500/180

## BRIEFS

AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVE--Col Mu'ammar Qadhdhafi, the guide of the revolution, yesterday morning [5 March] inspected new, large-scale land development work undertaken this season at the Jabal al-Akhdar project for the construction of this totally self-administered collectivist society. The work underway is considered the keystone of organized, collectivist work. The guide of the revolution visited Abu Karawah, al-Gharib, Bayyadah, and Mirad Mas'ud. The new land development work is aimed at turning this land into orchards. The land developed so far and during this season amounts to about 3,000 hectares. The work was accomplished, thanks to the labor contributed by the people, with the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, the police, and representatives of the People's Congresses participating. The area involved includes the regions of Bayasa, Mirad Mas'ud, Abu Karawah, al-Gharib, Qasr al-Mukassam, 'Umar al-Mukhtar, and Lamludah. Most of the land involved has been seeded, developed to some extent, and surrounded by fences. In the same way and up to the end of February 4,574 hectares were seeded, and 2.8 million fruit seedlings were planted, including apple, pear, olive, fig, cherry, pomegranate, and nut trees, as well as grapevines. During his inspection trip the guide of the revolution was accompanied by Abu Zayd Durdah, secretary of the General People's Committee for Land Development; police officers; and engineers responsible for the work. [Text] [Paris BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE in French 6 Mar 83 pp 5-6] 5170

COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH SWEDEN--A cooperation agreement has been signed in Stockholm between the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Sweden, covering the industrial, agricultural, public health, and electrical sectors. The signing of the agreement came at the end of the meeting of the sixth session of the Libyan Arab-Swedish Mixed Commission. The secretary of heavy industry signed the agreement for the Libyan Arab side, and Mats Hilstern, Swedish foreign minister, signed for the Swedish side. The Mixed Commission expressed its pleasure at the positive and fruitful climate that prevailed during its meeting, which tended to strengthen Libyan Arab-Swedish relations in many areas. [Text] [Paris BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE in French 13 Mar 83 p 7] 5170

ELECTION OF PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SECRETARIATS--On 20 March the masses of the Basic People's Congresses throughout the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, formalizing the establishment of the system of direct people's democracy, will elect the secretariats of the Basic People's Congresses and the Municipal People's Congresses.

The voting will take place in three stages. The first stage will take place on the evening of 20 March at the local level. The second stage will take place the evening of 21 March to elect the Basic People's Congresses. The third stage will take place on 22 March for the Municipal People's Congresses. According to the communique issued by the Secretariat for Congress Affairs in the Secretariat General of the General People's Congress, the election will be held in the following way: (1) the Basic People's Congresses covering a single locality will choose a secretariat of five members; (2) the Basic People's Congresses covering two localities will choose a secretariat of six members, three for each of them; the Basic People's Congresses covering three or more localities will choose a secretariat made up of two members for each locality. The communique makes it clear that the choice of secretariat members for the Municipal People's Congresses will take place together with all the secretariats of Basic People's Congresses located in the area served by three municipalities. Both the secretaries and deputy secretaries of Municipal People's Congresses must be persons other than the secretaries and deputy secretaries of the Basic People's Congresses. [Text] [Paris BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE in French 15 Mar 83 p 6] 5170

CSO: 4519/171

UNED PRESIDENT DISCUSSES STUDENT PROBLEMS, ORGANIZATION

Rabat LE DEMOCRATE in French 23 Jan 83 pp 6-7

[Interview with Mohamed Machhour, president of the National Union of Democratic Students, 16 January 1983 in Rabat; author of interview not specified]

[Text] The executive committee of UNED [National Union of Democratic Students] met last Sunday in Rabat to consider a number of problems the university milieu is experiencing and to elect officers. During the meeting, which was followed by a press conference, Mohamed Machhour was elected president of UNED. In the interview he granted us, Mr Machhour mentions the national university's present difficult situation and calls for uniting the student masses in order to surmount the crisis and enable the students to pursue their studies under the best conditions.

LE DEMOCRATE: We have just been present at the founding of a new organization of which you are the president. Why this organization?

Mr Machhour: UNED was created to respond to the profound aspirations and the will of the student masses who participated in the first congress of the National Democratic Party last June in Casablanca.

After that the democratic students mobilized to create a structure capable of enabling the students as a whole to organize for better protection of their interests and to rescue our university from the crisis that has been traumatizing it since independence.

We are perfectly aware of the gravity of the situation and the problems affecting our higher education. This is why we have firmly decided to do everything possible to find a solution to the crisis. We are determined to wage a merciless battle to fill the void from which the student milieu is suffering, and to create within the university a new atmosphere that will allow the students to pursue their studies under the best conditions.

Previous organizations actually succeeded in establishing a climate of insecurity and suspicion, and used the students' enthusiasm for purely partisan ends. They stirred up the conflicts in the university establishments and created small groups that tore each other apart in marginal fights, leaving the real problems of the student to one side.

This situation has already gone on too long, and cannot in any case benefit the students, that is to say the men and leaders of tomorrow.

For this reason, the democratic students mobilized within the UNED to make the students aware and to organize them and to confront this very difficult situation, we have to recognize that but we are convinced that we will manage to surmount all the obstacles.

LE DEMOCRATE: Can you talk to us a little about all of those problems and what solutions you propose?

Mr Machhour: Student problems are very numerous and affect all areas of higher education. The material and ethical problems have to do with programs, the teaching system, living and working conditions of the students, the examination system, transportation, lodging, libraries, etc.

A scholarship, for example, is an asset and every student has the right to have a scholarship that is adequate to meet the various expenses involved in living in university towns like Rabat, Casablanca, Fez, Oujda, Marrakech or Meknes, where even civil servants and wage-earners with decent incomes have trouble making ends meet. To say nothing of the students who are getting a starvation-level scholarship, especially since some of them are obligated to share it with their families, to help them survive. And then, the student doesn't get this scholarship until the end of the first quarter, that is to say in December, whereas he needs more money when school opens (September and October), to look for housing, buy books and pay the costs of the many moves necessitated by the interminable administrative procedures.

There is also the transportation problem. Buses don't run on fixed schedules and there are still not enough of them. One is sometimes forced to wait for over an hour--in vain, which means one is always late, one gets very tired.

Moreover, the presence of watchmen in the university poses a very serious problem. We are asking that they leave, and frankly we think their presence is caused by the irresponsible behavior of those small groups and organizations that have created so much chaos and have done everything to stir up conflicts between students and have caused trouble. It was these little groups that abused and exploited the university setting in order to introduce imported ideologies having nothing to do with Moroccan reality, and to defend causes which cannot serve the students' interests in any case. The presence of the watchman on the faculties is a logical result of these intrigues. So those organizations are fully responsible for them.

There is also the problem of university reform. We are opposed to such a reform because it was done in the absence of the principal interested parties, that is the teachers and students. We can't agree to a reform imposed on us from on high, because we are the principal interested parties and we have our own word to say on the subject. No one can claim to understand the student's problems better than the student himself. For this reason, the latter's participation in drawing up any reform becomes a necessity. That is why we are opposing the present reform, which in any case is doomed to fail.



There is also the problem of registration with all the obstacles set up in front of the student to discourage and prevent him from registering.

In the face of the determination and unwavering resolve on the part of the citizens to surmount all of these obstacles, national educational officials were forced to reveal their true intentions to the people. They have purely and simply deprived civil servants and civil lawyers, who are performing a national duty, of their legitimate right to an education. That decision is as arbitrary as it is illegal, since the right to an education is guaranteed by the constitution; we denounced the decision and we are still fighting it.

In the face of this situation, UNED is being called upon to play an especially important role and to assume a heavy responsibility. We are entirely prepared to accomplish that mission, and, by the way, a great deal of courage is required just to create a student organization in such difficult circumstances. We are ready to confront the situation and wage a fierce battle to solve all the problems and defend the material and spiritual interests of the student masses.

LE DEMOCRATE: You stated in your press conference last Sunday that the UNED is a purely trade union organization. Do you think it is possible for a student organization not to expand its field of action to the political domain?

Mr Machnouri: We have no intention of mixing what is political with what is labor union, and in any case we have absolutely no intention of using students for political or partisan ends. The students' demands are clear and I have already listed some of them.

One of the principal errors committed by previous organizations was to divert the students' fight to political objectives, while making the demands that were really student-related, marginal. The students who saw their material and spiritual situation constantly deteriorating showed a certain tendency to be fed up, that's really the only word for it. They withdrew into their shells, shutting out the organizations that no longer have any influence on the student masses.

If we want to succeed, we must study the problems that afflict the students on a daily basis. We have no intention of doing the same thing the previous organizations did. We want to bring the students together, give them confidence and offer them a structure that will allow them to defend their interests and continue their studies at the same time.

As responsible UNED militants, our action will be centered on university problems. But we are also citizens and the men of tomorrow. We must therefore interest ourselves in what is happening in our country and we must take political positions, because we have the courage to take and defend a position. For this reason, we must join the Democratic National Party.

In that area we are very clear. We expect to wage the political battle within the Party and fight the union battle within the UNED. We will raise political problems in our glorious Party, the National Democratic Party, and we will defend student demands in the UNED.

I think that in the present circumstances, priority must be given to a fierce battle to unite the students and reinforce their ranks. Therefore I call upon all students to contribute to this broad awareness campaign that the UNED expects to undertake, to rescue our higher education from its crisis and confront the difficult situation our university is going through. I am launching an appeal to all students to participate in the debate we have opened up at the very heart of the universities and in the columns of our newspapers, LE DEMOCRATE and ADDIMOCRATI, and I urge them to overcome the quarrels and join ranks. As students we are all concerned about the problems I have mentioned and we must all unite to solve them. The unity to which we aspire must be based on dialogue, discussion and respect for other people's convictions, because anyone who does not respect the commitment and the choice made by others must not expect his own to be respected.

So this is our objective and I am convinced we will be able to obtain it.

Before I conclude, I want to thank the newspaper LE DEMOCRATE for its interest in the student world and for the battle it is waging for our higher education.

8946

CSO: 4519/184

MOROCCO

MAATI BOUABID VIEWS ON SAUDI RELATIONS, MAGHREB, OAU

LD121658 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 12 Apr 83

[Text] Concerning the contacts being made to fix its date and place, Prime Minister Maati Bouabid said that the tripartite summit conference of the Arab Maghreb countries will result in the laying down of the foundations for the achievement of Arab Maghreb unity. In an interview with the Saudi newspaper AL-JAZIRAH published today, the prime minister confirmed the need to end all Arab differences and pointed out that the Arab peace plan approved by the Fes summit will be an area for proving the Arab countries' ability to unify their efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the region.

Bouabid described Saudi-Moroccan relations as having a historic nature. He said that thanks to the wise leadership of their majesties King Hassan II and King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, these relations are developing in the interests of the two peoples.

Concerning the crisis in the OAU Bouabid confirmed the eagerness of Morocco not to see the organization exposed to the danger of disunity and splitting. He said that Morocco would do all it could to prevent the violation of its sanctity and laws. He said that Morocco expected the African countries to take measures to implement the Nairobi resolutions concerning the holding of a referendum on the Sahara and confirmed that Morocco would participate in any future African conference if it was legal.

CSO: 4500/176

INEQUALITY, INADEQUACY OF ALL STAGES OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM DEPLORED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 275, 276, 28 Feb, 7 Mar 83

/Article by Asma' 'Abd-al-Rahim: "Light on Education in the Sudan: Does It Reflect the Social Values that Call for Development? The Problem Lies in the Answer to the Question"/

[28 Feb 83 pp 56-58 Part I]

/Text/ This study has been prepared in two instalments for AL-DUSTUR by one of the most prominent scholars in the educational field, from a thesis she presented to London University. We are presenting this for a "dialogue," welcoming all objective responses by specialists in this field, with the objective of fixing the signs along the road toward a solution of the educational crisis in the Sudan.

There is no doubt that education is one of the most important problems facing developing countries. Unless success is achieved in this field, all these countries' hopes of continuing in the caravan of modern progress will become incoherent dreams.

The Sudan, as a developing country in Africa and the Arab world, stands in the list of the 17 poorest countries in the world economically and socially, while the population growth is increasing at a high rate, 2.8 percent a year, and about half the population is below 20. Although the Sudan is the biggest country in Africa, the average per capita income there, \$110, is the lowest in the world, in spite of the Sudan's abundant agriculture, livestock and forest sources.

Agriculture is considered the basic source of income, since the proportion of exports from that source totals 98 percent a year. About 75 percent of the population, including nomads, work in agriculture, but production from agriculture and pastures is extremely meager. The Sudan began to aspire to economic and social development from the time it gained independence. The 1961-62-1970-71 10-year plan was the first attempt in this field, but the plan was abandoned in 1964. Then the 1970-71-74-75 5-year plan was started. That, in turn, did not succeed; one of its worst sections was the section on the new educational process, which was a curse on the educational system in

the Sudan. The educational system is still suffering from its effects in the form of a low level of students and professors and deterioration in the education level.

Education is still beyond the reach of the majority of the population. The rate of illiteracy comes to 80 percent of the population, and we find that the type of education received by the small group that has educational opportunities does not adequately qualify it to take part in economic and social life. Education does not reflect the values of the society, which call for change and development, which encourage the material and economic change and transformation of the society. Conversely, the values of dependency and pessimism are growing in the minds of young people, instead of initiative, independence and optimism and a disdain for manual labor is implanted in children's minds from the beginning.

With a lack of adequate planning, perceptive administration and scientific organization, it appears obvious that people are not adequately interested in this issue; what makes matters worse is the fact that instructors in this sort of environment are deficient in the strong motivation that can make their task an effective one.

If we want to overcome these difficulties and points of weakness, new goals for education will have to be set forth and firmly implanted.

#### General and Secondary Education

The educational process in the Sudan follows this program:

Six initial years (primary), three general secondary years, then three higher secondary years. Alongside the higher secondary schools, there are 4 years of technical training and 4 years of training for teachers at the higher secondary level.

The ages for enrollment in school in the three stages are as follows: seven through 12, 13 through 15, 16 through 17; they are 16 through 19 in the case of technical training and teachers' training.

The rate of enrollment in the schools is to be considered extremely low relative to the population of school age. Just 25.1 percent of pupils aged seven through 12 are in primary schools, 7.3 percent of children aged 13 through 15 are in general secondary, and 1.1 percent of children aged 16 through 18 are in higher secondary. These rates show the small numbers of people for whom an education is now available in the schools. Discrimination between girls and boys in opportunities for education plays a major role in exacerbating the problem of education in the Sudan. There is one female student out of every three pupils in the primary stage, one out of every four in the general secondary stage, and one out of every five in the higher secondary stage.

The distribution of educational opportunities among the various regions and areas of the Sudan constitutes another aspect of inequality. The rate of enrollment in schools in urban areas and towns is greater than in the villages and rural areas. The proportion of students of school age in primary schools

in urban areas comes to 64.2 percent, in comparison with about 19.4 percent in the case of students of school age who are in primary schools in the rural areas. In the general secondary stage, the number of students of school age in schools in urban areas comes to 41.8 as compared with 2.5 percent of students in schools in the same stage in the rural areas. Most secondary schools are concentrated in urban areas, which has resulted in a massive migration from the rural areas to the towns, which has led to the emergence of numerous economic and social problems. Above and beyond that, the distribution of schools among the various provinces and geographic regions of the Sudan reflects similar problems. The northern region is enjoying the most educational opportunities, followed by the central region, while the southern region comes at the bottom of the list. Among the other elements that help add to the problem of education in the Sudan is the matter of specialization in the higher secondary stage; while elementary and general secondary education are purely academic in nature, education in the higher secondary stage is broken down into three fields of instruction--the academic and technical and teachers' training. The rates of enrollment show that 80 percent of the students in higher secondary receive an academic education, while just 20 percent of them get technical or teachers' training.

Classrooms in the urban areas are overcrowded with students, being crowded to double their capacity, and this congestion creates a problem for the teacher, who is supposed to be responsible for a classroom that is jammed with pupils and imposes an indescribable psychological and mental burden on him. This all ultimately results in a deterioration of the level of the students because they do not receive adequate attention from their teachers. To that one should add the shortage or absence of schoolbooks, school supplies and laboratory equipment.

The deficiency in educational resources available is aggravated by the intrusion of other elements. Dropout rates provoke real anxiety, in some cases reaching 30 percent of the rate of enrollment in the basic classes, in the rural areas, especially among females. In the examinations for the diploma in the intermediate stages, approximately half the people taking the examination have to repeat, and the opportunities for promotion to higher levels are few in the face of the rare few who pass, amounting to no more than 60 percent.

In addition, the Sudan has gone through a change in the system of education in the past 10 years that is characterized by three phenomena:

First, the new educational process, which requires that the stages of education be 6, 3 and 3 /years/ instead of the old system, which was 4, 4 and 4.

Second, the decentralization of education.

Third, the change in curricula.

The extension of the primary stage, according to the new educational process, has not led to any observable benefits, since it was not accompanied by any

carefully studied gradual application or thorough review of the type of curriculum that was to be studied. Adding to the aggravation of the problem was the shortage in the number of qualified teachers, following emigration from the Sudan to the countries of the Gulf and elsewhere on the part of the best teachers in the Sudan, once they had lost the incentive to stay in the Sudan because of the small salaries they received and the little encouragement they enjoyed in this difficult occupation. The small number of classrooms and school buildings, the deficiency in school supplies and reading and writing materials, and the congestion in the classes also contribute, and on top of all that there are the blows to and instability in academic life and studies when schools are closed for many months of the year because of student demonstrations or scant resources. All these elements in addition to the general atmosphere contribute to creating a sad picture of education in the Sudan.

Among the amendments that were introduced by virtue of the new educational process was the fact that the Arabic language was made the language of instruction. While this step had been one of the aspirations of the people for a long time, the manner in which it was carried out was not carefully studied, and the final result was that the level of students in the Arabic language became weak, and their level in the English language, where the hours of instruction were reduced, became poor. Making matters worse was the addition of instruction in the French language as a second foreign language alongside English, although sufficient hours were not devoted to its instruction. In the end, students completed their higher secondary stage, with the objective of going to university, at an extremely low level in the Arabic language and in foreign languages, creating numerous problems when they enrolled in university, as we will point out later.

#### Higher and University Education

University students receive instruction at the university level in five universities--Khartoum University, Cairo University (Khartoum Branch), the Islamic University, Juba University and al-Jazirah University.

In 1974, the number of students enrolled in education above the secondary level came to 20,000, before Juba and al-Jazirah Universities were opened. These were opened in 1975, and in the same year about 50,000 students registered for academic degrees from universities outside the Sudan. In a statistical compendium on that year, the number of people who received final academic accreditation came to about 11,463, 2 percent of whom in reality were graduates of secondary schools who had managed, through additional training, to occupy positions that were essentially designed to be occupied by people with university degrees.

It should be noted that there is a lack of balance between graduates of universities and higher institutes in the various fields of specialization. While the number of graduates of theoretical faculties and humanities faculties is increasing, the number of graduates of scientific and applied faculties is decreasing. For example two universities, Cairo University, Khartoum Branch, and the Islamic University, are totally devoted to theoretical studies.

At present there is no clear policy as regards enrollment in universities; while an obvious shortage is occurring in the number of people specializing in specific desired fields, the number of people graduating in other fields is increasing at rates greater than needed.

In the recent period, the level of education in universities has declined for a number of reasons, among them the universities' shortage of qualified manpower, in the form of instructors and professors who have emigrated from the Sudan, who are replaced by an additional number of teachers from various European or Asian countries. The quality of many of these does not inspire optimism, since the choice bears on people who occupy the lowest salary levels the universities now offer to people who work in them, following the major cuts that have been made in the educational budget in general, including the universities. The low level of students as a consequence of the low level of education in the university, and their poor grasp of English, in which they are no longer proficient for the reasons we mentioned, have been another reason for the deterioration of their level in the university, where the language of instruction still is English; students graduating from higher secondary with poor English are now required to master the courses that are taught them in English, but cannot do so, and therefore the rates of course repeating have increased, prompting the universities to teach English as a university qualifying course in order to eliminate the grievous deficiency in the students' English levels. If to all that we add the problem of the shortage in equipment, materials, important references and books, and the poverty of the university libraries, we can see that the level of university education has dropped, in spite of the increase in the number of students enrolled every year.

A near majority of the people who receive higher credentials are absorbed by the government sector. About 30.1 percent of these people have specializations in the humanities, while 16.6 percent have engineering specializations and 11 percent have credentials in the natural sciences.

Although the agricultural sector provides the bulk of the national product, it absorbs only 13 percent of the people with higher qualifications, while the sectors of mining, industry and construction absorb about 3.8 percent of these people and the transport and communications sectors, which are considered the main key to any balanced development, absorb only a minor number of them.

The public service sector absorbs about 68.1 percent of the people with higher qualifications.

There is an obvious imbalance in the structure of the distribution and absorption of people with higher qualifications, and that is a result of wrongful educational and employment policy, which has not yet been touched by the hand of change in a manner that will eliminate defects and shortcomings. It goes without saying that the Sudan's need for qualified people in the areas of agriculture, forestry and veterinary medicine is now much less /sic/ than the number that actually exists. The same is clearly evident in the field of



doctors, engineers, technicians, teachers and graduates of science faculties. Rather than seeing an expansion in the accreditation of students in these vital areas, we observe that priority is given to areas that are in reality less vital than those that were mentioned. The Sudan's need for specialists in foreign languages, accounting, financial management, business administration, rural economics and sociology also appears to be great.

In the next issue, we will shed light on the most important higher institutes that prepare students for specialization and service in the vital areas of the economy.

[7 Mar 83 pp 60, 61 Part II]

/Text/ In this second and final instalment, we are presenting the study that one of the most prominent scholars in the educational field has prepared from a thesis she has submitted to London University. We are offering it for "discussion," welcoming all objective responses from specialists in this field, with the objective of crystallizing putting the features of the road toward the resolution of the educational crisis in the Sudan into focus.

It goes without saying that the Sudan, as an agricultural country, needs to have attention paid to agricultural studies and the development of agricultural sciences. Agriculture has been and still is the main source of income in the Sudan, and it will always be the main source of labor for the bulk of the population. With the increased drought and shortage in sources of food, and the insane rise in the prices of agricultural commodities, the Sudan, like other agricultural countries, will have to exploit all its capabilities and resources in the agricultural sector. Therefore the need to expand and improve the knowledge of farmers and all people working in the agricultural sector has become more than essential.

In the light of the Sudan's present and future resources in the realm of agriculture, in comparison with the number of qualified persons who have received adequate training in this field, we consider that there is a great gap between the Sudan's desire for agricultural development and its resources in terms of qualified trained agricultural personnel.

The Faculty of Agriculture in Khartoum University provides agricultural education at a high level; it is then followed, at the level of the agricultural (shambat) institute, by the Faculty of Forestry and the Secondary School of Agriculture in New Halfa, and, at the level of vocational certification, by the al-Tazi farm training center and the Mas'ad and Barakat training centers in al-Jazirah.

In spite of their number, these agricultural institutes have failed to graduate the proper number of people qualified in agriculture that the Sudan needs, because of a paucity of employment opportunities in the public and private sectors at the disposal of these graduates and a lack of opportunities for acquiring facilities and loans, in addition to the scant opportunities for setting up agricultural projects, especially successful ones. There is another reason why these institutes have not succeeded in graduating the requisite

number of people who have received suitable qualifications in the field of agriculture: that is that the courses and training methods in these institutes have not been subjected to review or modernization with the goal of accrediting persons who, in addition to a knowledge of agricultural sciences, have contacts with farmers and an ability to communicate with them and learn their opinions and problems.

The Sudan, on the basis of agricultural development plans, and its own agricultural resources, will now need 4,000 graduates in agriculture, 20,000 technicians, and 40,000 specialists in 1985.

However, as we have mentioned, the gap between the Sudan's resources in agriculture and its resources in qualified personnel is great.

### Veterinary Education

The Sudan has tremendous livestock resources. In 1972 the number of cattle was estimated at 13.5 million head, and there were 10.5 million lambs, 8 million sheep and 2.5 million camels. As is the case in agriculture, demand for animal products is increasing locally and internationally and livestock resources will constitute an important source of income and hard currency. However, revenues from livestock resources, as with agricultural revenues, are poor, below the world level, and this may all be attributed to the lack of competence and the low level of training of agricultural experts and veterinarians, the shortage in the number of trained workers, and animal diseases. For all these reasons, sufficient attention must be devoted to expanding and developing veterinary studies and giving them a place in the educational structure.

The Faculty of Veterinary Medicine in Khartoum University is considered the only institute that offers regular study in this field in order to qualify and train graduates in veterinary sciences. However, carefully studied plans have not been laid for coursework in this faculty, and it has not been developed in a manner that is in keeping with the country's need for experts in this field. It has failed to graduate an adequate number of experts in this field.

Although a large portion of livestock resources are concentrated in the southern region, there is still no academy for veterinary sciences in this region or in the Darmuz /sic/ area, where a large portion of the Sudan's animal resources are located.

The opening of other institutes for instruction in veterinary sciences and the development and review of the curricula in the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine in the University of Khartoum is a vital matter, if one is to ensure that better qualified personnel will be graduated who, as well as being informed about veterinary sciences, will have a knowledge of agricultural sciences. That may be achieved by narrowing the gap between agricultural and veterinary instruction and bringing the curricula in these two fields closer together.

## Teachers' Training

The Education Faculty at the University of Khartoum and the Educational Institute in Bakht al-Rida and its branches are in charge of teachers' education in the Sudan. There now are about 15,000 untrained teachers in primary schools, about 5,000 in secondary schools, and 1,000 in higher secondary schools. Because of this obvious shortage in the number of trained teachers, all educational plans in the Sudan will undoubtedly be destined to fail. If the educational system is to rise from its torpor, it will be necessary to expand and increase the number of institutes that are training teachers in all fields, especially those related to science, mathematics, and technical subjects, in which the Sudan is suffering from a serious shortage in the number of qualified teachers.

Among the factors that contribute to the students' reluctance to enroll in teachers' training institutes is the fact that the teaching profession is not attractive to them for numerous reasons, among them the salary scale, the jobs, the lack of incentives and encouragement, and the poverty of studies related to the review and development of teachers' training programs.

The Sudan is suffering from a great deficit in the training of teachers at the university level, since, except, on a limited scale, for the University of Khartoum, there are no programs to train teachers to teach in universities in any other institutes, because of the absence of planning in this field, in addition to the reductions in the budgets related to these programs, even in the University of Khartoum itself, and this is bringing the Sudan to need to resort to foreign teachers, whose academic level is modest in most cases, to meet the shortage of the number of qualified university instructors.

## Administrative Education and Training

The Sudan is also deficient in studies in the field of administrative training, which are firmly linked to all endeavors in the field of progress and development. There are no statistics to show the amount of need for this sort of training and the amount of the shortage in the number of competent employees, but the country's need for this sort of training does not need emphasizing. Every program of social and economic change needs an army of trained administrators to manage and run vital facilities. The experience of nationalization and expropriation, and nationalized institutions, is not far off, when the people most unfamiliar with affairs of administration in the form of army men or other unqualified persons took charge of the most important nationalized and expropriated institutions and banks. The result was the loss and destruction of many of these organizations in a manner that is still clear in people's minds. In fact, the effects of the deficit in the number of qualified people in this area, and the neglect of the need to have the right man in the right place, also became obvious in the private sector, where private projects and activities were staffed with people who lacked the slightest elements of training or competence.

The grave effects of the serious deficit in the number of trainers in this field appeared in the public service system, resulting in the disruption of

this system, turning it into an empty skeleton, especially since the small number of people who had acquired this training through studies or experience left civil service for the most part by emigrating, going elsewhere or turning away from public service and gravitating toward private employment, especially since the service conditions of people engaged in civil service are still plagued with such obsolescence that they cannot guarantee a life of dignity for the people working in it. In addition, bribery and corruption are widespread in the public service sector in the current era in an unprecedented manner for the Sudan, depriving this system of any attractiveness or dignity. Any serious attempt in the development field that depends on a civil service system that is lacking in qualified personnel and is torn apart by bribery and corruption, such as the current service system in the Sudan, will amount to no more than an effort to plow the sea.

### Postgraduate Studies

One of the most important degrees in any educational organization is that in postgraduate studies and training. The University of Khartoum and Cairo University, Khartoum Branch, are in charge of postgraduate education, and in addition there are foreign fellowships. However, postgraduate education in both Khartoum and Cairo Universities takes place on a narrow scale, because the universities lack the level of facilities, resources, organization and administration desired for this high level of study. In addition, there is a shortage of professors who are qualified to perform this task for the reasons we have mentioned above.

Foreign fellowships in the area of postgraduate studies lack planning and have no specific direction. They rely totally on grants given the Sudan by American and British universities in particular, some other European universities, and a few Asian ones.

It is well known that all development plans must set their sights on a clear plan for postgraduate education so that qualified staffs can be prepared to make the development programs succeed and carry them out. However, what is now being done in the foreign fellowship area is as far removed as can be from planning or equity in distribution, because the Sudan, in its current condition, accepts any number of foreign fellowships in any field without studying the important fields which the country most requires in accordance with its conditions and needs. This also may be attributed to the absence of a clear, serious plan regarding postgraduate instruction and the failure to link this to a clear, carefully-studied development plan. We see thousands of persons sent on fellowships abroad in various sectors on government fellowships, but no priorities or preferences for study have been set out in accordance with the country's needs. Hundreds of people come back after obtaining specializations in field that are less important than the vital ones that are required. What makes the situation worse is the fact that when entitlement to fellowships is determined, the considerations of selection and nomination are not made contingent on the competence and ability that will guarantee success in studies. Rather, they are governed by the policy of prompting proteges, supporters of the regime and security personnel so that they may

benefit from opportunities to study abroad. Since the selection lists in most cases are drawn up in accordance with these considerations, it is not amazing that the repetition of coursework among people on fellowships has almost become a rule among most Sudanese students abroad, with the unfortunate effects that has had on the level of postgraduate study and the loss of large sums of money that go to waste. In fact, the rare exceptions who are chosen for reasons of competence face sufferings in their period of studies, because of the poor conditions set forth for the treatment of persons of scholarship abroad, including scanty allocations and the allowances set aside for the acquisition of reference works and scholarly equipment.

#### Anti-Illiteracy and Adult Education Programs

Anti-illiteracy programs and adult education campaigns do not need to be stressed in a country like the Sudan, where the level of illiteracy is 80 percent and there are no educational opportunities in the schools for the overwhelming majority of the population, especially in the rural areas. The mission of the eradication of illiteracy and adult education is assumed by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Local Government, the Institute of Extension Studies at Khartoum University and the Social Development Department of the al-Jazirah project. In addition, two centers were built for the eradication of illiteracy by the Ministry of Education in 1969 in Khashm al-Qirbah and Khartoum Bahri in cooperation with UNESCO. The program in the Khashm al-Qirbah area is focussed on agricultural education, while the program in Khartoum Bahri is focussed on such industrial studies as textiles and soap manufacture.

The success of the anti-illiteracy programs will depend primarily on the provision of teachers who have received adequate training, and also on effective organization and constant followup.

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CSO: 4504/260

## WESTERN SAHARA

FINNISH REPORTER: GUERILLAS OCCUPY MUCH OF DESERT AREA

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 29 Mar 83 p 23

[Article by Heikki Alli: "Moroccan Wall Dimly Visible Before Us"]

[Text] In the second instalment of the series of articles dealing with the war in Western Sahara the journey across the desert continues together with the guerillas of the Polisario front struggling for the area's independence to the defensive lines of the Moroccan troops.

The liberation front controls the majority of Western Sahara, but the sand embankment has solidified the front lines of the desert war.

History fairly crackles beneath one's boots. Fossil slates slide toward the edge of the river bed as we rush to the top of a hill from the basin of an ancient sea.

Fragments of the mountain side decorated with petrified clam shells millions of years old roll down the incline. The disintegrating prehistory of the Sahara gives way as we reach the top of the highest ridge.

Before us in the distance spreads the present-day of the Western Sahara war, which has continued for more than 7 years.

The Sahara wall, that sand embankment almost 600 kilometers long, which was built by Moroccan soldiers and which is just as infamous as it is perhaps desperate, is dimly visible at a distance of 10 kilometers in the morning twilight and disappears from sight to the north and to the south. If I did not have a sufficiently accurate map with me, I would not have believed that Morocco's "Maginot-line" was dimly visible on the horizon.

### Explosions

A purple ball of fire springs up behind us from under the edge of the desert. The merciless sun begins to beat on us again. The shadows of the mountains disappear before us.

Soon the popping begins. One, two, three... I count a total of more than ten explosions from grenade launchers below us at a distance of approximately

10 kilometers. A thick, black cloud of smoke, the kind that is created by burning oil or gasoline, swirls up from behind the sand embankment, which appears as a reddish line across the desert.

The Moroccan artillery answers. The explosions and the booms of the grenade launchers, which stir up the desert sand, thunder against one's ears.

A wind comes up from the side. It raises a whitish violet curtain of dust before us against the sky from the dry river bed of Sakia al-Hamra, the Red Current, Western Sahara's largest river. The wall was visible. It can no longer be seen.

We go down the incline a half of a kilometer back into the valley. The fighters of the Polisario front, Western Sahara's liberation movement, say that this was "only a daily disturbance". We do not wait to see whether it will be followed by something bigger and whether Moroccan fighter planes will come, planes purchased primarily with loans from France or the United States.

#### The Front

There have been no major battles in Western Sahara for more than 6 months. The front has become solidified on the edge of the sand embankment even though the Polisario war has until now been completely mobile.

From here it is a little less than 40 kilometers to Smara, the old religious capital of Western Sahara. Polisario "liberated" it once a couple years ago. Now it is behind the wall under Moroccan control.

In spite of requests, the fighters will not agree to moving the front lines closer. Security risks are not taken even though the Polisario's fighters are famous for taking the battlefield almost anywhere. No accidents have occurred. Still before leaving for the "interior" or the "liberated areas" of Western Sahara, as the fighters call this area, I had to write and sign a paper that the Polisario front is not responsible for possible accidental death.

Polisario now claims that it controls nine-tenths of Western Sahara's territory. The one-tenth under Moroccan control is that northwest corner behind the sand embankment and other armaments, which the Saharan fighter call the "triangle" and the Moroccans call "useable Sahara".

#### Strategy

The capital city of Western Sahara, al-Aiun, and the most important known natural resources, the especially rich phosphate of the Bu Kraa quarry, lie behind the defense cordon, which winds from the Atlantic to the southern border of Morocco and is equipped with U.S. high technology.

The quarry has operated only intermittently for the duration of the war, which has been 7 years. Even without it, Morocco and its generous supporter are

able to control the trade in the raw material for fertilizer, which is indispensable to the world's production of food. And even more certainly by controlling Western Saharan phosphate.

This is one reason Morocco keeps a portion of Western Sahara for itself. Another is strategic. Morocco, or rather the government of King Hassan II, is a part of the United States' chain of alliances extending from North Africa through Tunisia and Egypt to East Africa and Saudi Arabia. A "democratic Sahara" which has close ties with Libya and proclaims a nonalignment similar to that of Algeria does not fit in to these plans.

No, it does not. But what if it comes about. The Saharan fighters have little by little pushed the Moroccans into its "triangle".

### Secrecy

The construction of the wall has not in any way changed the military situation, states commander Ali Ahmad, who headed the security patrol and led us to the observation point. The commander, who looks like an old fighter even without the turban that protects him from the sandy winds and the protective glasses, states that he has been in this area since the beginning of "occupation". He will not consent to show us Polisario's bases "for security reasons". With military brevity he states the number of fighters: the number is sufficient, as you can tell from the situation.

According to the estimates of certain Western countries, the Polisario has approximately 13,000 fighters, but no confirmation of this estimate can be obtained.

I pondered exactly what the military secrecy of these Saharans is. Last year there were tens of thousands of Moroccan soldiers behind the sand embankment -- according to Polisario at least 80,000. They have modern weapons and technology. However, the Polisario argues that it controls all the remaining area except for what is behind the wall and two cities on the coast, Dakhla and La Guera.

It is impossible to confirm this claim. As we wind through southern Morocco for more than 1000 kilometers to the gates of Smara in Sakia al-Hamra, not one Moroccan or even an airplane can be seen. I also wondered, just for my own safety, on what conditions the United States provides intelligence information to its allies. Certainly, a reconnaissance satellite can see the two jeeps carrying the three-member group of journalists if the eye of surveillance is looking.

### Mirage

The Moroccans do not dare to come out from behind the wall, states Sidi Salam, our escort. This statement is heard over and over from the Polisario fighters and was heard 6 years ago already when they had only just begun their struggle of "liberation". The Moroccans do not know this country, they do not understand its harsh conditions, they are completely dependent on their supply lines, and we know how they can be cut, explains Sidi.



Indeed, they come here with their fighter planes, grins the commander and points out a Mirage aircraft, which crashed and exploded into splinters in the sand on the outskirts of Hauza. A faded star of the Moroccan Air Force and the number 126 still glisten on the wing tip. It was shot down from its reconnaissance flight last September. The pilot became a prisoner.

We do not have any Soviet Sam-6 missiles, as is alleged, disputes the commander. If we did, there would be nothing left of the pilot, and even if there were, not even one aircraft would get through, he boasts.

The certainly must have light missiles. Otherwise, the shooting down of aircraft cannot be explained.

### The Open Sea

On the return trip hundreds of kilometers toward the southwest corner of Algeria where a portion of Western Sahara's civilian population lives in refugee areas turned over to them by Algeria, the jeeps suddenly skid into the dry river bed of Sakia al-Hamra. It is hard and smooth like the ice on a Finnish lake in a snowless and frosty winter. This open sea is visible for tens of kilometers.

The driver stomps down on the gas pedal. The wind is about to tear one's head from the shoulders. Only mirages dangle on the horizon as a white dust fills one's eyes.

Only after reaching the "shore" do the fighters explain the furious speed. If fighter planes had come, there is nothing that could have been done.

Before crawling back to the hammada, we approach open water on the plateau. Under a projection of mountainous slate shimmers a spring of fresh water. For the first time in nearly a week we drink "real" water after the salty Sahara water carried in barrels and flavored with the smell of gasoline.

The fighters become jubilant and wash themselves entirely and fill all the barrels. A tree with a yellowish composite flower similar to a mimosa on the edge of the spring emits a fragrance. This is the first time to smell the fragrance of vegetation in the desert. The branches of slender palms sway in the distance. Even this is Western Sahara, even this is the desert. If I had not drank from the spring, I would not have believed it.

### War Booty and Prisoners on Algerian Soil

The desert wind makes sighing noises in the organ pipes of the gun bores. There are dozens of them in neat rows driven into a rectangular formation.

This is the Tindouf plateau where nothing else grows but the Western Sahara war. This is area which Algeria surrendered to the Western Sahara movement 7 years ago already for the use of the Polisario front as an almost "completely autonomous area" of its government in exile.

## Exhibit

Weapons taken as war booty by the Polisario from the Moroccan Army, which is aspiring to control Western Sahara, are on exhibit here. There are more than 20 Panhard-type French-made tanks. However, some of them were manufactured in South Africa, more than 10 light field guns, dozens of heavy bazookas, and heavy machine guns. There are also shells from cluster bombs, on which the markings of U.S. manufacture are clearly visible. Morocco dropped these bombs for the first time a full year ago.

The identification cards of hundreds of Moroccan soldiers and the so-called green cards, which attest to the fact that their owners participated in the Moroccan Kingdom's occupation march into Western Sahara a full 7 years ago, were spread out in the middle of the war booty on plastic-covered stands.

A few dozen Moroccan prisoners of war sit on the rocky ground near the rows of identification cards. The men dressed in field uniforms with shiny buttons are silent. The majority of them are officers, eight of whom are pilots shot down by the Polisario fighters. Among them is also Mohamed Hadri, the pilot of the Mirage fighter plane shot down last September, which we saw in Western Sahara on the outskirts of Hauza.

The men are as serious as the rocky plateau stretching out before and behind them as far as the eye can see. They all answer that they have been treated well. The Polisario fighters listen nearby. Discussion among them is not permitted.

Do you know where you now are?

Not one of the prisoners will answer directly. Some say they know as well as I do, but no one will say that we are now in Algeria. The Polisario explains that the prisoners are usually kept "somewhere in Western Sahara" and that these prisoners were brought here only for the purpose of this interview.

Did the prisoners know that they had been transported from one place to another? Even this question they do not want to answer. I am a prisoner, understand my position, they answer.

## "Mercenaries"

Several of them have been prisoners of war for several years already, some of them even since 1976. They do not have the international recognition of a prisoner of war. Not one representative of the International Red Cross has met with them.

They have regular contact through letters with their relatives in Morocco, answers each one of them. Before going to war they were told in Morocco that their enemies in the desert will only be mercenaries paid by Algeria and Libya, also Cubans and Vietnamese.

Have you seen any mercenaries? No we have not, they all answer. Only Saharan fighters.

What did you think about this war before becoming a prisoner? As any soldier thinks about war, they answer. They are all professional soldiers, having served at least 10 years.

My only hope is that this war will end soon, this war between "Islamic Arab brothers", states 40-year old Infantry Captain Salah al-Mohrir. No one wants to disclose any more precise feelings about the actual situation. The Polisario front has not carried out any "political training" or brainwashing as they say in Western countries, answer the prisoners.

Not one of the prisoners will talk about the "movement of free officers" in the Moroccan Army, a movement which opposes the royalty and the Saharan war, which is exhausting the nation and the people. They know that the commander of the Moroccan forces in Western Sahara, General Ahmad Dlimi, recently died under ambiguous circumstances.

They also know that a correspondent of France's most respected daily paper LE MONDE was expelled from Morocco when he dared to find out that the general's death was not an accident. The Moroccan prisoners regularly receive newspapers including French newspapers. At least this is what the officers say.

How many prisoners of war are there? This the Polisario will not precisely say. There are around 3,000, says one. There are too many, answers another.

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CSO: 3617/99

## BRIEFS

HEAVY LOSSES--Rasd [Saharan Democratic Arab Republic] (liberated territories), 13 Apr (APS)--"Entrenched in positions where they are daily harassed, the Moroccan troops have undergone heavy human and material losses during conflicts opposing them to the Sahraui People's Liberation Army (SPLA) during the first days of April, a communique from the Sahraui Ministry of Information indicated yesterday. In that way, the communique stressed on 4 April 1983, the town of Semara was pounded by heavy artillery during 30 minutes on 6 April 1983, the Moroccan positions of Aoussir [spelling of name as received] was also bombarded during 25 minutes, the communique added. "These attacks took place after the pounding that the Spla made by the end of March against a high number of the enemy's positions notably Aussengli, Ejhaiva, El Aima, [spelling of names as received] the communique recalled. [Text] [LD131238 Algiers APS in English 1008 GMT 13 Apr 83]

SDAR, FRENCH SOCIALISTS MEET--Paris, 14 Apr (APS)--A POLISARIO delegation led by Mr Ould Salek Mohamed Salem in charge of the external relations and comprising responsible of Europe's Department Boukhari Ahmed and the representant of the front in Paris Fadhel Ismail was received at the seat of Socialist Party (PS). The statement of the Saharan minister of information indicated that the PS and the POLISARIO consider direct negotiations between Saharans and Morocco were necessary in order to achieve a lasting and fair [word indistinct] to the conflict and to reestablish security in the region. The two parties [word indistinct] to consolidate bilateral relations and to maintain period meetings between the two parties. The French delegation is led by Mr Jacques Huntinger, national secretary for PS external relations. [Text] [LD141829 Algiers APS in English 1345 GMT 14 Apr 83]

CSO: 4500/179

# MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT INTERVIEWED

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 22 Feb 83 p 7

[Interview with the Iraqi Minister of Local Government, Kamil Yasin Rashid, by Ra'd Hashim: "Large Group of Service, Educational, Water, and Sewage Network Projects Accomplished in All Provinces, Despite the War"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Kamil Yasin Rashid, minister of local government, announced that the ministry's agencies, during the period of the war imposed upon our country, had accomplished a large number of service projects in all provinces of the country.

In an interview with AL-THAWRAH, he added that the ministry's agencies had participated extensively in supporting the war efforts for the Saddam's glorious Qadisiyah battle. Workers in those agencies have made exceptional efforts in that regard, using the directives of the glorious leader, President Saddam Husayn, as the springboard.

## Service Projects

The minister referred to the fact that the local administrations in the provinces had carried out projects, ordered by President Saddam Husayn, as well as projects contained in the plan. These administrations implemented 485 service projects, out of the original 877 projects ordered by the president. During the war years, 2000 other service projects, included in the ministry's plans, were implemented.

## Water and Sewage Projects

As for the Public Agency for Water and Sewage, its job is to provide the best and most extensive services to the citizens, and to provide them in the furthest reaches of our glorious country. In fact, during the war years, and through its facilities, this agency implemented 40 water projects, with a designed capacity of 432,780 cubic meters, and extended the networks by some 1082 kilometers. Central water units and projects were installed in cities and housing cooperatives, totalling some 71 unites and projects. Sewage projects implemented involved some 743 km. The number of beneficiaries of these projects is estimated at more than 1,176,000 citizens.

Municipal projects accomplished during the war years totaled some 600 projects. All of them were service projects, having a direct connection with the citizens' daily life, such as paving streets, and building promenades and game parks.

#### Educational Courses

In the forefront of continuous concern by the leadership of the party and the revolution is the educational sector. Work has been done to construct strong foundations in order to achieve the best educational process. We have initiated intensive educational courses, in order to fill the shortfall of essential educational requirements on the local level. We have empowered the governors to appoint graduates from academies, to have teachers out of rotational assignments in their province, to transfer any surplus to other provinces, and to give the village and country schools the necessary importance in order to fill their vacancies. We have been able to assure 250 seats for those who wish to supplement their university studies in colleges throughout the country's universities.

We have also expanded the passenger bus lines in the provinces, in view of the expansion occurring in the cities. Model garages have been established for these busses, along with standardizing the type of bus operating in the provinces.

#### We Are Guided by the Leader's Directives

The Minister of Local Government Said: "We use the directives of President Saddam Husayn, whether they surface in the cabinet or during his press conferences, or during his field trips. This provides daily work for all our executive agencies. We have issued instructions to all the provinces to rely on these directives during our field visits to the provinces. One of these directives was the speech of President Saddam Husayn on 6 December, Iraqi Army Day.

#### Support the War Efforts

It is worth mentioning that our ministry was one of the first to become totally involved in the war effort. It has effectively participated in supporting the battle and strengthening the spirit of victory through the periodic presence of some of its associates with the heroes of our armed forces, whether these associates were from the municipalities or the local governments or the bureaus and agencies of another ministry.

Regarding the ministry's plan for the current year, the minister pointed out that the plan included the most prominent and positive elements, through which this ministry hopes to be successful and through which it hopes to have a direct effect on the community. Moreover, this plan was based on important fundamentals through which all matters could be dealt with. This means implementing the plan in accordance with the specified times.

The minister concluded by stating: "We are proud of the projects achieved by the ministry's agencies during the past year, which are considered to be a quality leap forward. All this requires the workers in this vital sector to exert maximum efforts to carry out the ministry's plan for the current year, guided by the directives of our leader, President Saddam Husayn, with regard to guiding consumption and reducing expenditures in support of our national economy.

7005

CSO: 4404/275

# LAND TRANSPORT COOPERATION WITH JORDAN VIEWED

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 19 Feb 83 p 9

[Article by Muhi al-Din Jasim: "A Shining Example of Cooperation Between Two Brother Nations"]

[Text] In order to strengthen pan-Arab ties and brotherly relations between Iraq and Jordan, using as a point of departure the desire of both countries to strengthen and expand areas of Arab cooperation and economic integration, and the role of joint Arab projects in achieving economic growth, a joint Arab company for land transportation has been established by Iraq and Jordan to transport goods and passengers between the two countries. It is the Iraqi-Jordanian Overland Transportation Company.

## Mutual Aspirations

In a meeting with 'Abd al-Sattar Farman, undersecretary of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, he shed some light on this company's goals. He said: "The importance of the transportation and communications sector in any country lies in its being a basic support for all desired growth. Moreover, it is one of the supporting structures on which a sound national economy is built, in order to ensure the achievement of full cohesion between the various parts of the country and the countries of the Arab Nation, and between them and all the countries of the world." He further said: "In order to achieve the desired aspirations in the areas of integrated projects on the one hand, and because of the importance of transportation, since it is a vital artery that ties nations together, negotiations conducted among officials in the two countries brought about the establishment of a joint company, to serve the transportation sector, whether on the Iraqi-Jordanian level or on the level of the entire Arab Nation. The fact is that the establishment of the Iraqi-Jordanian Land Transportation Company, whose establishment contract was signed in April 1980, represents mutual interests between the two countries in the field of transportation. After the company had begun its activities, it was noted that it would be most appropriate to increase its capital, in order to enable it to achieve the goals for which it was founded."



## Company Goals

In response to a question about the goals and nature of the company's work, the undersecretary replied: "The establishment agreement stipulated that land transportation operations would be carried out, whether in the field of transporting goods or passengers between Iraq and Jordan or among the other Arab countries, and that its activities would be carried out in accordance with commercial principles and standards, and within the framework of pan-Arab interests. The company will participate in transporting more than 1 million tons of goods annually between the two countries, and consideration is being given to continuously upgrading the company's transportation capacity."

The undersecretary of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications added that the company would help to expand the area of integration in transportation operations, so that when the sea transport operation is over, the overland transport operation begins, using trucks. This will help to overcome bottlenecks in the ports and will put an end to the storage of goods in those ports, which will reflect positively on the economic factor and its success for the interests of importers. Furthermore, the company indicates the true direction to strengthen and consolidate areas of constructive cooperation and embodies the joint economic activity between Iraq and Jordan. In addition, the fact of its establishment was in implementation of the Treaty of Economic and Technical Cooperation, aimed at achieving economic growth and fulfilling the elements of joint Arab economic integration.

## Company's Importance in Growth Plans

He referred to the fact that this company has a share in the pan-Arab development plans, since its fleet would be working to transport goods, equipment, machinery and the necessary requirements to implement the growth projects being carried out in those two countries or in any other country. Studies have shown the need of the transportation sector in the Arab Nation for expansion over the long run. The Council of Arab Economic Unity decided to establish an Arab land transportation company, in which Iraq would have a 15 percent share of the capital. The circumstances of the Arab Nation and the geographical distribution of Arab ports requires the creation of overland fleets to transport goods to all the Arab countries.

## A Measureable Accomplishment

The undersecretary went on to stress that "the company's work has been characterized by speed and earnestness since it began operations in the first part of 1981. It contracted to purchase 750 transport vehicles, in accordance with the most modern international and technical specifications, as well as ensuring the comfort of their operators. It began its actual operations in transporting goods from the port of al-'Aqabah to Iraq, as soon as it took delivery of the trucks. That in fact was a measureable accomplishment."

In response to a question as to whether the company's work was to be confined between Iraq and Jordan, he said: "We have taken into consideration the establishment of a programmed plan to conduct the company's operations. Its overland fleet is like any other fleet that is not tied to a specific line; on the contrary, it operates according to need and according to the heavy flow of goods in the ports. In the first place, it operates to serve Iraq and Jordan and other Arab countries. Accordingly, the company shares in stimulating the movement of exports and imports with regard to foreign trade, in addition to the fact that it has resulted in the reduction of transportation fees, which were controlled by the foreign transportation firms in the Arab region."

#### Joint Management

Regarding the management structure that operates the company, he said: "The company has restricted its administration and technical cadre to citizens of Iraq and Jordan, along with giving consideration to utilizing Arab expertise in this field. Therefore, its administrative structure is distinguished by being jointly managed by the two countries. In addition, the specific agencies concerned, in implementation of higher directives, are trying to provide comfortable means of transportation, with appropriate transportation fares, for the citizens of both countries between Baghdad and Amman, through providing comfortable, airconditioned vehicles with international specifications compatible with the climate of the Arab Nation. They are also hoping for firm cooperation between the various activities of the transportation and communications sector in the country and similar activities in the Arab countries."

He said in conclusion that the Ministry's agencies concerned have made economic and technical feasibility studies of air, land and sea transportation projects, as well as different types of communications and mail projects, the design and construction of these projects, and the undertaking of all activities and services connected with these objectives, in accordance with the most modern international technology. They are attempting to employ the most modern and advanced means of transportation and communications, for the purpose of achieving the firmest social contact between the people of Iraq on the one hand, and the other countries of the Arab Nation, in order to strengthen Arab unity.

7005

CSO: 4404/275

## BRIEFS

OIL DISCOVERIES--Qasim Ahmad Taqi, the minister of oil and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Iraqi National Oil Company, announced the discovery of several new oil fields and deposits. In a statement to the Iraqi News Agency, on the occasion of the 19th anniversary of the founding of the company, the minister stated that a greater number of installations had also been determined for future exploratory drilling operations. He added that during the 10 years of direct national exploitation of oil, an important leap forward had been achieved in the goal of increasing the reserves. The proven reserves have been increased to 59 billion barrels, despite the significant increase in crude oil production in the country during that period; reaching averages of 4 million barrels a day before the Iranian regime's attack against our country. The minister made it clear that the expected reserves have increased significantly to 46 billion barrels. It is expected that, without much effort, an important part of this can be converted into proven reserves. He indicated that the company was continuing to closely examine the information made available as a result of new discoveries; information which demonstrate a high percentage of success. Such information would be necessary in order to clarify what the future holds and to identify the possibilities concerning what oil supply can be expected from such discoveries. Such information would also determine whether to continue exploratory and evaluation activities. He said that, with the passage of time, studies have shown that the figures of the anticipated supply have continuously increased. These studies currently indicate that the estimated reserves that can be extracted from this supply exceeds 100 billion barrels. He added that these results indicate the extent of the profit that our country can earn through a policy of pursuing constructive control over our oil and gas resources, and planning for this within integrated economic and political framework, drawn up by the leadership of the party and the revolution who nationalized the oil and opened access to it. The minister of oil emphasized that--thanks to the wise leadership of President Saddam Husayn, and his direct supervision, since the early days of the glorious 17 July revolution, over the development of the policy of direct exploration and the creation of an integrated oil industry--Iraq has been in the forefront of those nations that possess this resource, which will remain the property of its people, and through which they can build up their country, despite the attempts and plots of the enemy. [Text] [Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 21 Feb 83 p 6] 7005

CSO: 4404/275

## GUSH EMUNIM MOVEMENT, LEADERS SURVEYED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 25 Mar 83 (Supplement) pp 4-5

[Text]

"TODAY SETTLEMENT in Judea and Samaria is being dealt with officially; *haruch ha-Shem*, and we are starting to work in the field of aliya," said Rabbi Moshe Levinger with visible satisfaction. Although Gush Emunim has no formal leader, it is the 48-year-old bearded rabbi who, more than anyone else, is associated with the militant religious movement, symbolized by the knitted kippot of its youthful ac-

... just 15 years since the redoubtable rabbi led his famous sit-in at Hebron's Park Hotel, although Gush Emunim was only established as a movement six years later. The hotel-squatting led eventually to the establishment of Kiryat Arba, the Jewish suburb of Hebron. Today there are some 150 settlements beyond the 1967 borders, more than half of them in Judea, Samaria and

be handled by the government. We are opposed to partisan efforts," remarked the man who defied the authorities in Sebastia, Hebron and Yamit. There was no trace of irony in his voice; Levinger is not a humorous man.

The public Levinger, the man who two weeks ago called for vengeance for the murder of Esther

singer, is not in evidence in his Ramat Eshkol office.

In private conversation he is rather shy, slurred of speech and slow to come to the point. But one senses, behind the shell, the iron determination and the certainty in the rightness of his cause which are the secret of his success. Other Gush leaders have left the scene, to return to their yeshivot or to enter politics. Levinger continues to run

Park Hotel for six months and, after he and his followers were transferred to a nearby army camp, stuck it out for a further four years until permission was granted for Kiryat Arba.

Gush Emunim was actually founded as a movement in early 1974, in the wake of the Yom Kippur War. Its first partisan settlement

Elon Moreh and many others followed.

Today Levinger speaks nostalgically of "the other Shimon Peres," who as defence minister often turned a blind eye to their activities. With settlement in Samaria finally under way, Levinger led the struggle against the withdrawal from Sinai (although this was not a Gush Emunim operation as such). He bounced back from that defeat to lead Jewish settlement into the very heart of Arab Hebron.

More recently, his travels have taken him from Cape Town to Manhattan as he attempts the daunting task of stimulating aliya.

His faithful spouse, Miriam, and their many children, remain behind in Hebron.

HANAN PORAT, Levinger's chief colleague, could not be more of a contrast. The 40-year-old paratrooper, who was seriously wounded in the Yom Kippur War, personifies the new-style religious Jew. Remove the knitted *kippa* and he could easily pass for a Peace Now activist, an illusion that swiftly vanishes once he opens his mouth. Porat's settlement activities predate even Levinger's: he was a member of the group that returned to the Etzion bloc, south of Jerusalem, shortly after the Six Day War.

If Levinger has remained something of an outsider, Porat is unquestionably a member of the new power-élite, speaking to government officials on the phone in his Knesset office with complete self-confidence. He reminds one of the young kibbutz leaders of the 1960s.

After fighting a number of campaigns together, Levinger and Porat parted company when the latter left to found the Tehiya Party; but the break was only temporary. Today Porat combines his political activities with leadership in the non-party Gush. He describes Tehiya as the parliamentary expression of the Gush Emunim way, but stresses that the Gush has support in many parties. Today, says Porat, Gush Emunim is the only movement that can galvanize aliya on the basis of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook's "Zionism of Redemption." The Gush also remains the principal driving force behind settlement in the entire Land of Israel.

Four years ago, the Gush established its own settlement movement, Amana, which today deals with 30-plus settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The Gush are the first to admit that they now represent a minority of the settlers and that as time goes on, the proportion will be still smaller. "Gush Emunim cannot settle the Land of Israel," says Porat. "Only the people of Israel can achieve it. We are the pioneers, but not the separatists."

Amana official Shevach Stern, a younger version of Porat — he also serves in the paratroops and fought

in the Lebanon war — says it is the Gush groups organized in Amana that take on the toughest challenges in Judea and Samaria. He himself lives in Shilo, near Nablus, regarded as one of the more pioneering settlements, but he holds that the Jordan Valley is a tougher location and Amana is readying groups to beef up some Jordan Rift villages, as well as to establish new points of settlement. Where the Gush leads the way, he says, others will follow.

GUSH EMUNIM does not aspire to establish its own youth movement, like the religious Bnei Akiva, but also for the many young members he met in South Africa. But he maintains that something more comprehensive is needed to reach the Jewish masses in the Diaspora, and a deeper education in Jewish values is required both here and abroad.

The Gush is cooperating with other movements, within the framework of the World Zionist Organization, on "Operation 1,000," a scheme to get a thousand families to spend this summer in Israel. The programme includes kibbutz, moshav and army volunteering as well as Tora study and touring. Gush Emunim's contribution is Programme 4: "Pioneering in Judea and Samaria."

A comparison between the modest pale-blue leaflet put out by the WZO and the highly-coloured brochure of the Gush is revealing. The movement spent IS750,000 on the brochure and has also financed trips by its own people to promote the scheme abroad.

Gush Emunim of the 1980s is a powerful, professional and well-financed operation, employing eight full-time, paid officials and a further 10 in Amana. It is a far cry from the earnest groping of the new, dovish Netivot Shalom, or the amateur exuberance of Peace Now. The movement's wage-bill alone comes to around IS5 million a year. Add to this Amana and its staff, the offices, the emissaries abroad, the expensively-produced literature, and it can be seen that the Gush Emunim is very big business.

To give some idea of the scale of the enterprise: Gush Emunim has sent 10 emissaries abroad to Europe

and the U.S. for periods of up to four months to promote "Operation 1,000." It is planning to send some permanent emissaries abroad also, initially at its own expense, although it is hoped that some of them will be able to earn their keep as teachers of Hebrew and Jewish subjects.

The movement is run by a secretariat of 13, nine of whom were elected at a special conference after the withdrawal from Sinai and another four co-opted later. Day-to-day affairs are conducted by a "team of four," comprising Levinger, Porat and the secretaries of Gush Emunim and Amana.

Gush secretary Natan Nathanson, who also serves as treasurer, would not disclose the movement's budget on the grounds that it was too complicated. He said that each month brings in a different amount. Gush Emunim has an overdraft; but it always has enough to carry out its programme.

THE COUNCIL of Jewish Settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is a political roof organization, which represents the five local Jewish councils and six regional councils in the territories. Its secretary, Israel Harel, 44, a former journalist (he is on leave from *Yediot Aharonot*) admitted, in a conversation in his office at Ofra, near Ramallah, that he was worried about the polarization in Israeli life.

He does not believe there is a monolithic opinion in the Gush either about the Kahan Commission or about the Lebanon war. Likewise, he does not see why the members of Peace Now who live in the northern kibbutzim should not have supported the war.

As an example of Gush pluralism, he cites the different attitudes towards the Arabs of the territories. There are some, he admits, who support Meir Kahana's policy of exclusion. "I am sure they are a tiny minority. At

has proposed offering the Arabs all rights and obligations. Some favour a policy similar to the one within the 1967 borders: Arabs do not have to serve in the IDF, but neither are they eligible for certain privileges. A large group, including Levinger, favours the extension of social and

human rights, but not political rights. Another group, which is in the majority, believes that the Arabs would have political

rights in Transjordan.

Hanan Porat explains the Tehiya proposal, which he personally formulated. Arabs should be required to do three years of national service (largely in their own sector) and be given full rights, including the vote. In his view, every Arab should be given the choice of being a "citizen," with full rights, or a "resident," with normal freedoms but no political rights. He believes that most Arabs would decline citizenship, as have the Arabs of East Jerusalem. His scheme would also apply to Israeli Arabs; in fact, he would start by implementing the proposal within the 1967 borders.

KIRYAT ARBA lawyer Eliakim Haetzni disagrees strongly. Haetzni, close to the Gush but not really of them, is a firm supporter of the functional-federal solution. He demands settlement rights in Transjordan; but the Jews there would vote in Israel and the Arabs west of the Jordan would vote in Amman.

"I am a dove," he laughs. "I am prepared to forgo Jewish sovereignty east of the river."

Porat demurs. "We are not prepared to forfeit anything," he declares. "For the time being, Judea, Samaria and Gaza are all we can handle; but we believe that one day the Jews will have the entire land, just as the Temple will be rebuilt. If we create a real Jewish state worthy of the name, the Arabs will be glad to join us."

The strength of Gush Emunim, Porat feels, is in its positive approach, rejecting the permissive, Western-style society in favour of the Jewish family-based way of life. It is no accident, he maintains, that Levinger has 11 children and he himself has seven. "Internal aliya" is no less important than immigration, he feels. He says that the media have not sufficiently emphasized the "joyful, positive, creative" side of Gush Emunim.

Haetzni is probably the most Arab-oriented of the settler activists. His modest apartment in Kiryat Arba is full of Arab rugs, ornaments and coffee-pots. He speaks

Arabic, goes everywhere in the territories and claims many Arab friends. He is dead against the Gush policy of not employing Arab labour on its settlements, which he sees as a throwback to the "disastrous" Labour-Zionist policy.

Contact between Jews and Arabs in Kiryat Arba has been vital for improving relationships, he says, and he insists there has been a positive revolution in the attitude of the settlers towards the local population. He contemptuously dismisses recent vigilante actions as the work of "a few unrepresentative extremists." He quotes with evident satisfaction the recent interview in the afternoon paper, *Ma'ariv*, in which a Hebron Arab expressed confidence that the shooting of his four-year-old daughter could not have been carried out by "his friends" in Kiryat Arba.

Levinger, Harel and Haetzni are all strong proponents of what they call "coexistence" with the local population; but they have definite ideas about the nature of that coexistence. Levinger notes that the Jewish tradition commands Jews to love their neighbours, and this includes Arabs; but he adds sternly the Solomonic proverb: "Spare the rod and spoil the child." He favours a tougher stance by the IDF: bigger fines, longer prison sentences and, for murder, the death sentence.

Harel wonders why the Likud government has abandoned the policy of non-interference in the defence ministers Moshe Dayan and Ariel Sharon's policy of treating "trouble-makers." Haetzni says that coexistence depends on the arms being in Jewish hands, as Arab society is "based on violence." He angrily denies that this is racist. "I am not saying that Arabs are violent," he exclaims, "just that all the Arab regimes at this point in time are based on violence."

THE GUSH leaders are bitter about what they regard as a smear campaign against them in the media, linking them with violence. Porat admits that he is trying to help the El-Nakam settlers of Meir Kahane's Kach movement, but denies that this implies support for their policies. When they are engaged in something as constructive as settlement in the Land of

Israel, he says, they deserve support.

One perceives the same ambivalence with regard to the aborted Temple Mount operation. Nathanson told me that the Gush had specifically turned down a similar proposal three months ago. The Gush is against illegal actions of that sort, he said; but the police had blown the recent incident up out of all proportion — it was not as serious as all that.

Furthermore, the Jews must be allowed to pray on this holiest of sites. It was for the rabbis to say exactly where, but it was inconceivable that the Jews should not be permitted to pray there.

Although, as has been mentioned, the struggle against withdrawal from Sinai was not an official Gush operation, none of the leaders tried to duck responsibility for it. One senses a slight unease about Yamit among the younger activists; but the senior leaders — Porat, Harel, Levinger — have no second thoughts. They insist that the struggle was a model of responsibility and self-restraint.

Levinger notes that evicting people from their homes was a serious business: it called for a stronger response than just sitting in the road and singing "*Am Yisrael Hai*" ("The people of Israel lives"). He thinks the Gush prevented a catastrophe at Yamit and will — if necessary — prevent one in future too. He discounts the fears of some that there could be civil strife in Israel.

"There won't be a violent conflict," he declares. "One side — our side — will refuse to fight!"

EVEN BEFORE the death of Emil Grunzweig, Israel Harel had initiated contacts between Gush Emunim and Peace Now. Since the murder these have been intensified. A recent all-night meeting included Harel, Porat and Benny Katsover from the Gush; Tzali Reshev, Avshalom Vilan and Yoram Ben-Porat from Peace Now. The two sides agreed to meet again in an effort to lower tension.

Gush Emunim looks to the future with confidence. Harel claims that there are already 30,000 Jews living beyond the Green Line, and by the end of the summer the number will be doubled.

He denies that this involves the dispossession of Arabs. "Only 300,000 dunams out of more than five million in Judea and Samaria have been designated for Jewish settlement," he notes correctly. (He does not mention that upwards of two million dunams have been designated "state land" by a Justice Ministry team led by Pliah Albeck.) "We have more than enough for our first 100,000," he smiles.

He has good reason to smile: Gush Emunim has come a long way from the Park Hotel in Hebron. □

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## ROAD CONSTRUCTION IN TERRITORIES REVIEWED

Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English Feb 83 p 13

[Text]

Whatever one's opinion about the political and ideological motivations behind the settlement effort, there can be no question that the road building that has accompanied the settlement drive has changed the face of the territories every bit as dramatically as have the settlements themselves. In a few short years, the primitive, bumpy mountain roads of the areas have been augmented and replaced by straight, first-class roads connecting the center of Israel to all parts of the territories. The roads facilitate Jewish settlement on a large scale, making it possible to live in a Jewish settlement near Nablus and reach one's job in Tel Aviv within an hour. But they also improve communication in the Arab sector, and cut travel time between Arab towns.

~~Among the more significant roads~~  
opened up in the past few years or nearing completion are:

- the "Hotzai Yehudah" road which runs from Bet Guvrin to Hebron, cutting Judea in half;
- a road linking Arad with the new settlement of Carmel, southeast of Hebron;
- a road serving both military and civilian users connecting Tekoah near Herodion with Mitzpe Shalem by the Dead Sea;
- a just-opened road connecting Ma'ale Adumim with Mount Scopus and north Jerusalem; this is the first leg of an as

yet unbuilt highway which will continue through Jerusalem's northern suburbs and west through the hills, hooking up with the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway at Latrun;

- the Allon road, begun when the Labor Party was still in power. Parts of this road over the rugged landscape of the Jordan River escarpment are still under construction today; the road runs north from Ma'ale Adumim to Mechola in the Bet Sha'an Valley;
- a road connecting Givat Koah near Ben Gurion Airport with Neve Tzuf east of Bir Zeit, near Ramallah;
- the Haim Road cutting cross Samaria;
- a new road running north-south in the Samaria foothills from Barkan to Karnei Shomron. The construction of this road is helping to open hitherto isolated parts of Samaria to settlement.

Bar-On explains that funding for the new roads comes from the PWD, the Transportation Ministry and other sources as well as the Ministry of Defense, and that the Defense Ministry turns to the PWD for help in building many of the roads, even though officially the mandate of the PWD is within the "green line". "What the Defense Ministry and Minister Sharon provide above all else is initiative and push to go out and get the roads built," Bar-On concluded. ■

CSO: 4400/286

## BRIEFS

**BACTERIA FOR GRAIN FERTILIZATION**--Scientists have long sought a strain of bacteria which could fix nitrogen in the air so that it could be used by grain crops, just as the *Rhizobium* bacteria does for legumes such as soybeans. Hebrew University researchers have found a practical way to do just that, and their findings are of great significance for other countries as well. The Hebrew University research team, led by Dr. Yaacov Okun and Prof. Yigal Henis, first investigated the capacity of *Azospirillum* to fix nitrogen to enrich cultivated grains in greenhouse and phytotron (a specially equipped structure for growing under controlled conditions). Their experiments found that such enriching does take place and that the bacteria in turn are nourished by secretions from the roots of the grain crops. The corn, millet, and sorghum among which the bacteria were spread showed a marked increase in dry weight and overall nitrogen content. As the bacteria also produce growth hormones, their presence near the crop roots cause the roots to branch out, which increases the capacity of the crops to absorb water and nutrients. An *Azospirillum* strain from California and the Israeli "Harvest 1" bacterium were used for the field experiments. Tests conducted at Kibbutz Sde Eliahu in the Beit Shean Valley resulted in an increase of 13% in sorghum and 11% in corn. The Hebrew University research team is currently working together with a Weizmann Institute colleague in further experiments to adapt the use of *Azospirillum* bacteria to enrich wheat crops. [Excerpts] [Article by Rafael Gordon] [Jerusalem THE ISREALI ECONOMIST in English Feb 83 p 35]

**NEW NEGEV ENERGY SYSTEM**--Construction of an industrial pilot plant for a revolutionary energy system is now underway at the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, according to Prof. Herman (Yirmiyahu) Branover, who developed the method. The new plant, slated for completion by March 1983, will convert heat directly to electricity. Known as the Magneto-Nydrodynamic Liquid Metal System for Power Generation, the procedure involves heating a liquid metal, which is then driven through a high-intensity magnetic field, producing an electric current. The team working under Prof. Branover at Ben-Gurion University, in cooperation with Argonne National Laboratory in the US, have modified this system, which normally requires a heat source of 1,000-4,000°C. The new version can operate with temperatures as low as 80°C. This significantly reduces the cost of running the plant, and enables the system to exploit renewable heat resources such as water energy and geothermal water sources. The method perfected by the Branover team will produce one-third more electricity from its source of heat than any other energy system operating under similar

conditions. "It normally is considered a breakthrough if power utilization can be raised by a mere fraction of a percent," Prof Branover explains. Besides cutting the cost of operation, the new method is cheaper to install: the initial capital investment is at least 30% less than what is required for conventional methods. [Text] [Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English Feb 83 p 36]

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# FUTURE LABOR WAGES EXAMINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 311, 5 Feb 83 p 40

[Article: "How Will Lebanon's Industrialists Pay Increased Wages to Their Workers? After the Election of New Leadership for the Federation of Workers in Lebanon, the Increase in Wages in the Private Sector Occupies the Highest Level of Interest of Officials and Businessmen."]

[Text] The issue of wage increases in Lebanon is expected to be raised this month, after the basic indices [guidelines] used in such matters have been prepared. The Joint Index Committee, which is attached to the office of the minister of labor and social affairs, has promised that the guidelines will be ready sometime this month and that the topic will be transferred to the council of ministers during the second half of this month.

In reality, the issue of increased wages, which has become a perennial concern in Lebanon, is this year linked to other unique and special concerns which go beyond the concerns of past years. The difficult thing about the wage increase is that it falls between two fires, or, more accurately, between two predicaments, for the firms are weighed down by severe production problems, and the living standard of the workers is bad in turn, due to inflation, especially in the basic areas of spending. The leaders and the government are confronting the matter of wage increases this year under difficult circumstances. Perhaps the worst is that the powers that be are busy with the matter of [foreign troop] withdrawals and the current negotiations about them. This topic is keeping the leaders and the government busy, and therefore this should be one more compelling reason for the parties concerned with the matter of wages to moderate their position and cooperate so as to insure the social stability required during this stage. Despite that, the nature of things means there is a strong possibility that the issue of wage increases will flare up. This statement is based on the following factors:

- 1) The body of industry concerned with the topic of wage increases which should bear the greatest share of the burden, will confront the topic this time with a far firmer position than in past years, since its situation is none too rosy. The firmness of the industrial sector this year does not stem from a fundamental change in its structure so much as it does from the fact that this sector emerged from the general industrial conference which was held at the start of this February with a bit of cohesion. Via the

preparatory meetings which were held prior to the aforementioned conference, it is clear that the industrialists agree on some points connected with the topic of wages which can be summarized below:

- a) Wages are considered one of the prime factors which led to the increase of industrial costs in recent years, which in turn caused the competitiveness of industry to be weakened.
- b) There was near-general agreement, based on principle, to reject discussion of any increase in wages, on the basis of two things: the nearly complete paralysis in the industrial sector as a result of the events which characterized last year, along with the Israeli aggression, which stopped activity for four months; the shutdown lasting intermittently up till this time.
- c) In case no agreement is reached with the workers to forgo wage increases, the industrialists agree that the government should be distanced from the topic of wage increases and should also be made a party to bilateral negotiations between the employers and the employees. They further argue that the current situation does not permit a uniformed decision to be taken and imposed on all the firms with no consideration being given to each one's special circumstances, which differ sharply from firm to firm.
- d) The industrialists agree unanimously that the role of the state should be limited to setting the minimum wage level only, with other increases to be determined in accordance with free contract agreements in each sector and according to conditions in the labor market.

Of course, these positions of the industrialists, which are shared by the traders and the bankers, are not new. The only new thing about them is the powerful influence which they are gaining as a result of their conference, and from which they are likely to emerge with definite instructions.

- 2) As for the second factor which might cause the issue of wages to flare up, it has to do with the General Federation of Workers, in light of the recent developments in the staff of its office.

It is known that the federation's new leadership, led by Mr Antoine Bishara, which emerged in circumstances well known, may find itself unable to give any concessions in the matter of wages, since such concessions on its part would tend to weaken the new leadership and affect its initial stated policy for cooperation.

Despite Bishara's call for what he called "social peace," the new president of the General Federation of Workers will find himself, at least initially, compelled to follow a classic line in the matter of wage increases, a line based on the price index.

Thus, it is expected that both the industrialists and the workers will stick to unwavering positions this year, as a result of the special circumstances in which both groups find themselves in.

In this context, what will the government's position be? There is no doubt that the government will once again be in a tight spot. Its finances will not permit it to decree any increase for the private sector, since it would later have to be applied to the public sector, to which the state has still not paid the last increase due to it since July 1982. The president had frankly announced to the workers that the treasury deficit has reached 20 billion lira.

3) In addition, there is a third factor which may cause the issue of wage increases to flare up, namely, the difference said lately to exist between the index of the General Federation of Workers and that of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Beirut. The gap may not be easy to fill, in view of the different methods of calculating the index.

4) The tight spot represented by the need for wage increases may be thrown on the carpet for discussion soon, so that at least a partial solution may be reached whereby there would be a reconsideration of the contributions to family compensation payments in the National Fund for Social Insurance without it leading to an increase in the employer's share. Such reconsideration would take place despite the fact that it has been shown that the family compensation branch has some additional funds which would permit it to increase the contributions, which currently have an upper limit of 230 lira, that is, for a wife and five children.

The current month of February will be decisive insofar as social issues are concerned. Will it become milder in the shadow of the negotiations being held in Khaldah and Qiryat Shimona.

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## RESULTS OF LABOR FEDERATION ELECTIONS DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 311, 5 Feb 83 p 39

[Article: "Elections of the Workers' Federation in Lebanon. The Right Won and the Left Didn't Lose! Thanks to the Intervention of President al-Jumayyil and Many Other Personalities, the General Workers' Federation in Lebanon Was Able to Get Through the Difficult Elections. The Right Won, And the Left Did Not Lose. Rather, The Moderates Lost a Great Deal."]

[Text] On the 25th of last January, the General Workers' Federation was able to make it past the difficult process of elections and to recommend harmoniously the election of the board of the office of the executive council, with Mr Antoine Bishara as president. Mr Bishara is currently president of the Federation of Independent Agencies and Private and Public Institutions.

This harmony, which was achieved two days before the date of the elections, came only after difficult discussion and as a result of exertions, efforts and contacts in which a lot of the non-official members of the federation took part, with the goal of preventing the occurrence of a battle within the General Federation which would have led to its division or, at best, to its paralysis.

Despite the numerous efforts exerted for the sake of harmony--some of these efforts behind the scenes--there is no doubt that the meeting between President Shay Amin al-Jumayyil, with the members of the federation's executive committee on Friday, the 21st of last January was the most important factor and the most influential one in bringing about harmony, especially in view of the fact that there was no agreement, relatively speaking, even among the non-partisan members.

What really happened is that the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Dr 'Adnan Muruwwa, disclosed and made clear to the president of the republic during the last session of the Council of Ministers before the date of the workers' elections his fears concerning the occurrence of fragmentation within the body of the Workers' Federation. Muruwwa wanted the president to undertake an effort at mediation and, if that failed, to postpone the elections for a time, until conditions would be right.

According to well informed sources, the president expressed his complete rejection of any hegemony that might lead to the splitting of the federation and

critized implicitly those forces trying without any regard for others to monopolize the general situation in the country. From that point, his reaction was to make known his desire to receive the workers. Thus, the meeting took place within 48 hours.

Of course, the president did not talk about the elections during the meeting, but rather on the situation of the workers' leaders vis-a-vis their responsibilities, expressing the desire that they would rise above "trivialities, quarrels and arguments" and reminded them that the government is facing fateful and fundamental issues. Despite the fact that he is busy with the negotiations and insuring the various [foreign troop] withdrawals, he is most interested in social issues, he said. Furthermore, the president reminded the workers of the general situation in the country; the deficit having reached 20 billion lira and the infrastructure being destroyed. He appealed to the federation's leadership to take a united stance, since, if they were to split up, no one from the government would be in a position to deal with them. He told them with his usual bluntness: "I wanted my first meeting with you to be a discussion of a social program of import to the workers. Tell me about one program established by the union which has dealt with a housing or social-related concern."

This and much else was stated by President al-Junayyil. He did what he had to amongst the workers, with varying degrees of effectiveness. Those who had already openly adopted positions did not retract them while those who did not declare their positions realized only that the president wanted to avoid a battle, and did not realize that he did not want to influence the positions of the parties concerned.

Starting from these 'givens', the representatives of the right, left and center met on the following day and after some effort arrived at a reconciliation formula which in fact led to the victory of the right and the non-defeat of the Left, while the liberal center lost out in the fever of competition.

The formula did not rest on deciding the two chief portfolios--the presidency and the secretaryship--between the right and left. Rather, it involved other appointments. A third vice presidency was created, which went to the Left, as well as a fourth privy secretaryship, which also went to the Left. Moreover, it was agreed that the board as a whole would represent the General Federation before the authorities.

Mutual understanding embraced even the board of representatives' council's office in the General Federation of Workers. As a result the left gained the office of vice president.

It is therefore to be noted that the General Federation of Workers has made it past the difficult stage of the elections and has preserved its unity. The following observations can therefore be made:

- 1) The left wing of the General Federation did not want to be the cause of the federation's splitting for strategic considerations which it constantly keeps in mind. Such considerations are also consistent with its philosophy which basically considers that it is better to win small support from many factions as opposed to winning a large support from one faction.



- 2) The left wing did not lose a bit of its gains, measured against the previous boards.
- 3) The Right took the lion's share, but this victory was relatively expensive.
- 4) The liberal center, represented by George Saqr, was the big loser. This was expected, since it was difficult for a number of reasons for the previous board president to hold on to his position.
- 5) The electoral battle which did not materialize set three names apart, which have been nominated for the next presidential term: Elias Sha'ya, head of the Air Transport Federation; Musa Nasir, head of the Federation of Independent Agencies and Private and Public Institutions; and Tawfiq Abu Kahlil, head of the Federation of United Unions.

Though the General Federation of Workers has been able, whether against its will or not, to preserve its unity and cohesion, the question that remains is, will it be able to achieve certain basic requirements for the working class? If that happens, then all the intra-union competition will have had a purpose. If that does not happen, then one can say that personal considerations were behind all these maneuvers.

The Board of the Office of the General Federation of Workers

The Board was formed in the following manner:

Antoine Bishara as president, Faris Daghir, Habib 'Abd al-Jawwad, and Midhat Kusa as vice presidents, Joseph Nasr as general secretary, Habib Zaydan as secretary for public relations, Sa'id Mugharbil, Nicola Birbari, 'Ali Humani and Sulayman al-Basha as privy secretaries.

As for the board of the office of the council of representatives, it is composed of Nabil Ghusn, as president; 'Abd al-Amir Najda, as vice president; and 'Id Dayya and Joseph 'Awn, as privy secretaries.

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## CURRENT STATUS OF 'ISAM AL-'ATTAR REVIEWED

Bonn AL-RA'ID in Arabic No 63, Jan 83 pp 28-29

[Text] A large number of readers and friends have been asking us about Brother 'Isam al-'Attar, specifically about his current circumstances in West Germany. We thus have no alternative but to answer some of those questions here, even if we must do so in a very brief fashion.

The fraternal readers may know that after the assassination of his [al-'Attar's] wife, the martyred sister Um Ayman, may God have mercy on her, on 18 March 1981, and after it was no longer possible for him to return to his first residence, Isam al-'Attar spent 14 months moving from place to place and from city to city. He was prevented from pursuing any political activity, whether effective or ineffective, and whether direct or not.

The security forces in the city of Aachen demanded that he look for another dwelling, laying down numerous specifications and conditions in this regard. The new dwelling which had been found was offered him with the required conditions and specifications, and the authorities agreed to him living there. They asked for a number of measures which were carried out. Thus did Brother al-'Attar begin to find a measure of stability only a few months ago.

On 20 January 1983, the mayor of the city of Aachen issued a new administrative order to Mr al-'Attar in which he told him to vacate his new residence within only 40 days, or by 1 March 1983 at the latest. He informed him as well that this order took effect immediately, irrespective of whether he wanted to object to it on legal grounds. He justified his actions on the basis of the danger to the neighboring dwellings, despite the fact that they did not adjoin his dwelling. The director confirmed that he expected "an attack with firearms and assassination attempts with explosives," adding that "information available here makes it reasonable to assume that other assassination attempts will occur in the future." The director referred repeatedly to the Syrians.

The Mayor of the city of Aachen wanted to relocate al-'Attar to an isolated residence far from people, so that no one but al-'Attar would be subjected to "any bodily injury or to life-threatening situation" when the "expected" attempts" were carried out!

The mayor of the city rejected all counterarguments advanced to him and insisted that the above mentioned administrative order, which is unprecedented in the legal and administrative history of Germany since the end of the Second World War and the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany, be carried out.

Implementation of this decision does not merely entail depriving Mr al-'Attar of his psychological and physical stability and of his basic right to security and to live where he wants. Rather, it has other extremely dangerous dimensions.

If the information and evidence mentioned by the mayor of Aachen concerning the likelihood of continuing assassination attempts by the Syrian regime in the future are correct, and if his statement that he expects fire arms and explosives in particular to be used in any such attempts is true, then putting al-'Attar out in a rural, isolated and cut-off place amounts practically to preparing the way for these assassination attempts.

Moreover, this would also mean that Mr al-'Attar could be killed by others under the cover of the threat from Syria.

As for the circumstances surrounding the assassination of the martyred sister al-'Attar's wife, they are still obscure, which means that the root causes, dimensions and facts of the incident, as well as those who took part in it, either directly or indirectly, still remain unclear.

The protection around al-'Attar's house and himself was lifted shortly before the incident, despite the fact that measures were underway to assassinate him. The assassination in fact was being planned for exactly those days, according to officials. The way was open to storm the building and carry out the horrible crime. Brother al-'Attar and the other members of his family escaped only because they were not at home when the crime was committed.

Mr. al-'Attar, whose political activity and freedom of speech have been restricted unlike those of anyone else in West Germany, and who now faces this limitation which will deprive him of stability in its various forms, briefly pointed out this state of affairs and showed what its causes were in a reply he made to some questions from the German news agency. Among other things, he said on 17 February 1982: "In West Germany, for example, my political freedom is limited, and I am forbidden to speak, write, or undertake any political activity, whether effective or not, against the Syrian government. That is not to mention the fact that since the assassination of my wife on 17 March 1981 I have found no comfort. I oppose the dictatorial regime in power in Syria, but at the same time I refuse to serve other Arab regimes, and I oppose following the Soviet Union and the East, while opposing at the same time following the United States and the West. Thus I find myself warred on and surrounded from various sides. I cannot find a place from which I can undertake my great responsibilities and serve my people and country according to my convictions and my conscience and the interests of the people and the country, instead of the interests of the local regimes and the great powers and their plans, both overt and covert, in the region.

In reality, I am living the tragedy of the Man of the Third World, who in his country enjoys some trust and influence and refuses to sell himself, his freedom and his people to others by any justification or name.

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# ASPECTS OF ISLAMIC 'IDEOLOGY' STUDIED

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French Nos 12-13 Mar 83,  
pp 23-25

[Article by Olivier Roy]

[Text] The term Islamic "ideology" (transliterated directly from the French) crops up frequently in the writings of Afghan Islamists. They are, however, neither the first nor yet alone in calling for a return to Islam. It is a particularly constant topic among the ranks of the Ulemas (theologians, judges, and Muslim men of letters). Furthermore, the concepts to which both the Ulemas and the Islamists refer are the same: Koran, Sunna (tradition), Shari'at (religious law), fiq (Muslim law), Umma (the community of believers), etc. Islam, which recognizes no boundaries between the religious and the political or social spheres, perforce implies a global vision of society; why then adduce a neologism to signify something that has been of the essence of Islam since its beginnings? The Islamists will of course reply that there has never actually been any truly Islamic society, except perhaps in the days of the Prophet and the "rashidun " (the first four Caliphs). However, inasmuch as there have indeed been societies in which the role of Shari'at and of the Ulemas was preponderant, what the Islamists mean when they talk or write of an Islamic society is something different from anything that has existed up to now. It seems pertinent, therefore, to analyze this difference, not only in terms of a concept of society, but also in terms of differences in position as between the intellectual Islamist group (socially very easy to find) and the Ulema corps.

## 1. Difference in Background and Social Status

As a rule, Islamists have been educated in lay schools (except those from the Herat region, many of whom were trained at the Jana' madrasa in Herat). They are invariably products of the governmental school system (of which the Herat madrasa is part), never of the numerous "private" madrasas which train most of the Afghan clergy.

The Islamists have got their educations in a westernized environment -- western in its methods and western in its terminology. Even though they reject the ideologies and concepts underlying this westernized culture (laicism, the concept of progress, the worship of science), they nevertheless retain something of a world-view (the idea, for instance, that there is indeed something known as "modernity") as well as a readiness to accept technology (there are many science scholars among the Islamists). On the other hand, they have been brought into contact with the major political ideologies of the 20th century, particularly Marxism, which seems to exert a certain power of fascination, even to the point where some of them claim to see in the concept of Islamic "ideology" a Muslim "clone" of the primary Marxist concepts (the sense of history, the classless society, the Party theory, etc.). In this sense, the Islamists are the true heirs to 19th-century Muslim reformist thought, which was itself caught between the fascination of the West and the tug of cultural identity (the prime exemplar of this school of thought in Afghanistan is Mahmud Tarzi, who is also quoted as an authority by the Marxists).

As for the Ulemas, they are oblivious to the fascination of the West. Their 2,000-year-old culture is a culture of gloss and rote, of commentaries on commentaries and of case studies. There is no desire to set up societal models, but there is a readiness to engage in critical revision of possible cases. As against this addiction to chapter and verse stands the idea of Islamic ideology, asserting the need for shaping an abstract model for society. The Islamist intellectual-vs-Ulema conflict is part of a broader one that has pervaded the Muslim world since the 19th century: madrasa vs. government schools, savant vs. intellectual, tradition vs. reform.

## 2. Simultaneous Adoption and Rejection of Western Culture

This problem is neatly underscored by Pakistan's Maududi, one of the leading lights in Afghani Islamism. The Islamists have embraced western thought, if only to reject it, while that thought has never touched the Ulemas; the utilization of western concepts (sovereignty, the state, democracy, revolution) instantly changes the intellectual configuration in which society's problems are contemplated. Even if it leads only to rejecting the West's principal political concepts (a pleasure the Islamists, unlike the Muslim reformers of the last century, are not willing to forego), this confrontation will create a policy gap which they will do their best to fill with "Islamic" concepts. What western thought will contribute is less a coherent body of concepts than the idea of a place for politics, an autonomy for politics -- in short, a problematic of the state. Unless they can find an approach to this problem in the traditional thinking of the Ulemas, the Islamists will do their best to think out this new place, and to describe it in terminology borrowed from the Ulemas. It is this double shift

of phase (borrowing a space emptied of its content from the West, and borrowing an "out-of-phase" terminology from the Ulemas) that will make the Islamic "ideology" unique. Clearly, this is something more than mere cultural mimicry. It remains to be seen whether or not the program is completed.

### 3. Ulema Juridicism and Islamist Political Thought

Islamists become Islamists through a process of political reasoning, often stemming from brief excursions into progressive and Marxist ideologies, rather than from the Islam of their everyday lives. It is politics that brings them back to Islam, and from which they borrow the word "ideology" in the course of those excursions. The Alim (singular form of Ulema; Ed.) who knows no other life than the religious one, sees politics as an extension of the law, rather than as a condition for it. The Alim's concern is the relations between subjects of the law, the civil society -- and not the state.

The Islamists thinks about society in the light of politics, and so he must raise the issues of government and of the state. He must also work out a political theory of the Islamic state because, as Maududi argues, traditional Muslim thought contains no separate categories of politics, because it constantly blends together questions of ethics, of law, and of politics. To the Alim, for example, the question of government legitimacy is diluted in an extensive body of broader issues: the ethical question of the virtues to be demanded of a prince, juridical questions concerned with deciding who belongs to the idjma -- who has the right to a voice in decision-making. At most, once the government allows the Ulemas to enforce the Shari'at in society at large, the question of its legitimacy becomes moot. This explains, for instance, the difference between the traditional Mawlawi of Harekar-e Enquelab, who would be quite content with a restoration of King Zaher, and the Islamists of Hezb-e Eslami and Jamiat who -- at least thus far --oppose a return to a system of government perceived as non-Islamic.

The word "ideology" is useful in tagging this difference in approaches to the political question: empirical on the Ulema side, dogmatic on the Islamist. It is interesting to see how political questions are dealt with: the Alim will look for an instance of analogy in the Koran or the Sunna, whereas the Islamist will often begin by postulating abstract questions in search of definitions (What is society? What is government? What is nature?) which to our ears sound like an echo of an 18th-century political problematic (provided that, once the definitions have been hammered out, he can find something in the Koran or Sunna to legitimize them).

#### 4. Leitmotifs: the Party and the Islamic Revolution

This assumption of western concepts filtered through a re-reading of origins enables the Islamists to borrow the Leninist forms which have worked so well for the liberation movements thus far, whatever their actual relation to Marxism may be: the theory of the Party and the myth of the revolution. You encounter among the Islamists the centralized and relatively disciplined vanguard Party (we would point out that while the Afghani feel the need for organization, even among the majority of Islamists they have little taste for militarism) whose members are bound together by a shared ideology reinforced by constant training. It is in this sense that the three Islamist parties (the two Hezb-e Eslami and the Jami'at) are genuine political parties, and hence fairly effective war machines), whereas the three nationalist parties are in essence VIP clubs, family fiefs, or loose federations of more or less autonomous local fronts. The Party is indeed a modern concept unthinkable in the intellectual context of the traditional Ulema universe (on this count it is significant that the opposition Ulemas have felt the need, even when they are members of a party, to set up a horizontal structure of local Ulemas (Shura-ye Ulema, Jama'at-e Ulema). The Party theory is an outgrowth of the ideologization of Islam among the Islamists, and the Ulemas are sternly challenging it.

One last theme is that of the Revolution (Enqelab). It is part of a tradition belonging more to popular religion -- Millennialism -- meaning the coming of the kingdom of God on earth. The Islamic state is supposed to bring justice and happiness with it. In this the Islamists are indeed revolutionaries, concerned with social justice, while the Ulemas take more of a wait-and-see stance: the important thing is to obey the law and be just yourself. The Alim looks for justice from the individual's obedience to the law. The Islamist expects justice to come from a redefinition of social relationships through politics, and hence from the state. It is this very issue of the state that is the touchstone of Islamism. When a man says "ideology," he is saying "state," or as close to it as no matter.

#### 5. The Platform Issue

One might assume that so vast a difference in perspectives would have impelled the Islamists to oppose the Ulemas. But, as I have noted elsewhere, Afghani Islamist intellectuals are far more at home in the traditional society than are their Iranian or Maghreb counterparts. Furthermore, the Ulema corps still retains not only great moral authority, but also considerable political power in Afghanistan. In addition, some of the Ulemas (like Rabbani) are recognized as leaders by the Islamists. Then, too, the war has blurred the differences, and taught the intellectuals to be more respectful of tradition, because if they want to lead the struggle, they must first become part of the people.



So there is a rapprochement between the Ulema corps and the Islamists. The Islamists dip into the well of tradition to flesh out their Islamic ideology. Yet, at the same time, their more modern concept of politics enables them to build a more effective war machine (the Party), even though the end products is often flawed. One might summarize the main thrusts of the political platform (although it is still fairly fuzzy) as follows:

-- Sovereignty resides in God alone. The Amir is merely His "vicar." (In other words, the king or president or leader of the resistance movement is only God's representative. Ed.)

-- Civil society is ordered by the Ulemas according to the Shari'at and Muslim law.

-- All Muslims are equal before the law. De facto equality is limited by recognition of the right to hold private property and the right to make a profit, but corrective measures (a ban on lending money at interest; income and capital taxes; care for the poor and the sick through obligatory alms-giving) must be devised to avoid excessive social class differentiation.

-- Consensus is the ideal source of government. The leader is presumed to emerge de facto and the formal conditions of his investiture are somewhat neglected (universal suffrage or election by the Ulemas). However, the elective principle is recognized: in the northern resistance movement an electoral system involving several steps quite often works now, on the understanding that the Ulema corps remains autonomous vis-a-vis both the elected government and the Party (it is his learning that sets the Alim apart, not his being co-opted).

Clearly there is no sign here of the elements of a "fascist-leaning" system (a tag we have too often hastily pinned on Islamism: there is no all-powerful leader, even though it is a system that tends to encourage the emergence of a leader; a "state of law" is maintained vis the Ulema's independence of the state and the Party; the leader may be repudiated, and an elective system is necessary. Finally, when you know the instinctive anti-state mindset of the Afghan peasant and the importance of ethnic, family, or patronage ties, you suspect that the Islamists will have their work cut out for them in rebuilding the society closer to their hearts' desire. This very broad and general platform may indeed attract most segments of Afghan opinion, but it hardly spells out the precise political form a free Afghanistan would take.

What does that leave, then -- in the face of the realities of war and the necessity for unity -- of the Islamists' "ideology"? First of all, a rationalization of Islam's political thinking in a context where, on the one hand, Islam is indeed the driving force behind the resistance, but where, on the other, the traditional patterns (the mass rising of warriors for the holy war, for the Jihad) makes it impossible to wage an effective war against

the USSR? More than ever, the Islamic ideology makes it possible to absorb modernity without sacrificing cultural identity. As happened to the Protestants during the Renaissance, the rallying cry for a return to roots makes it possible to bypass the medieval tradition and think about modernism. One must not, however, slight the incantational nature of these references. More than a clear-cut program, the Islamists' "ideology" is a reference point that lets one know where he stands in relation to tradition and to modernism, and lets him set himself apart from the Ulemas while at the same time working out a joint platform with them; and lastly, it is also a way of continuing the dialogue with the West, invoking a horizon and a problematic (the state) that was first invented there. Perhaps this is where the paradox lies: the West's refusal or inability to see Islamism as one of its avatars. The West, be it liberal or Marxist, seeks to bury somewhere in the feudal, the medieval obscurantism -- in short, in the past -- what in others stems from modernism. The traditionalist Alim, who is happy and content in his medieval society, is a far more comforting figure than the young intellectual trained in our schools. And yet it is that young intellectual who is our mirror image.

#### The Jihad

A key concept in Islam, the Jihad means effort, combat. It is not primarily military combat, but rather a struggle to master one's passions, "a passionate ardor for God's cause," in Ibn Khaldoun's words. This personal discipline of the self is deemed the more meritorious. When the Islamic community must deal with armed hostility, its fight against oppression or for the restoration of justice is transformed into a "Jihad of the sword," commonly known in the West as a "holy war." Such fighting is considered a fundamental duty. The warrior, or mujahid, must be motivated by good intentions and restrain his anger and his zeal so as to fight his foes with clemency.

The warrior who dies in a Jihad is called a martyr, because he has borne witness for God by laying down his life.

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CSO: 4619/49

# POST-REVOLUTION ACHIEVEMENTS IN DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 5, 6 Apr 83 p 4

## [Text] 154 Villages Electrified in Lorestan Province

Lorestan (IRNA)--A total of 154 villages in Lorestan Province, west of Iran, have been provided with electricity during the last Iranian year ended March 21, 1983, it was announced by regional power joint stock company.

The announcement said a total of 492 million rials (about \$5.7 million) were spent on the project.

Only 39 villages were enjoying electric facilities in pre-Islamic Revolution era, the announcement concluded.

## Ahvaz Steel Plant Opened

Ahvaz (IRNA)--National Steel Industries group of Iran inaugurated its new steel plant in Ahvaz on the eve of the Islamic Republic Anniversary, April 1st.

Minister of Mines and Metals, Musaviani attended the opening ceremony. The factory anticipated to produce annually 140,000 tons of steel beam from 10 to 16 inches in size greatly alleviating the domestic demands and eliminating dependency on foreign markets.

The installation of the factory commenced in 1978 by the German and Indian experts, but with the culmination of the Islamic Revolution and departure of the foreigners the work on the plant was continued by the Iranian engineers and technicians.

With the outbreak of the Iraqi imposed war the activities were suspended for a while until the work was resumed in June last year.

Other affiliated branches of the National Steel Industries are capable to produce plain and threaded iron rods, galvanized pipes, profile steel, welding electrodes and various types of wires and mesh, up to 9,000 tons annually.

### 27,500 Ton Silo Inaugurated in Semnan

Tehran (IRNA)--The city of Semnan about 200 kms east of here now has a grain silo with a capacity of 27,500 tons. The silo is one of seven others contracted to the Solkhochtrome company of the Soviet Union.

The silo named Shahid Javad Sarhadi, after the former managing director of the general department of rural cooperatives (maryred) is built so that its capacity may be increased to 100,000 tons without the need to modify its present equipment or install new equipment in it.

Already about 1.4 billion rials (over \$16.4m) have been expended for the silo, and an additional 120 million rials is expected to be expended for the silo in order to finish the remaining parts. The silo employs the services of 55 workers and technicians and is to be used for storing and rerouting imported wheat to locations along and near the railway site of the city.

The silo was inaugurated by the Commerce Minister Habibollah-Asgar Owladi, and local officials here Friday.

### New Steel Plant Inaugurated in Ahwaz

Ahwaz, Iran, 5 Apr. 83 (OPECNA)--A new steel plant expected to produce 140,000 tons of 10 to 16 inch steel beams annually, has been inaugurated here.

The plant, owned by the National Steel Industries Group, will go a considerable way to meeting domestic demand for steel beams and reduce dependence on foreign markets.

Other branches of the steel industries group are able to produce plain and threaded iron rods, galvanized pipes, profile steel, welding electrodes and various types of wires and mesh.

### Extensive Road Building in Two Iranian Provinces

Orumiyeh, Iran 5 Apr. 83 (OPECNA)--Nearly 1,200 km of roads will be repaired and asphalted in the provinces of Kurdistan and West Azarbaijan this year.

Roads and Transport Minister Mohammad Hadi Nejad-Husseinian said in an interview that last year, 200 km of roads were built in the region.

He said at present the country's ports did not have the capacity to handle the required volume imports but added that measures would soon be taken to ease the situation.

As a long-term solution, the southeastern Port of Chahbahar would be equipped with more facilities and the 350 km road linking the port with Sistan and Baluchistan provinces would be widened.

## 21 Villages Supplied with Electricity Networks in Islamabad-e Gharb

Bakhtaran (IRNA)--Owing to efforts made by the workers and technicians of the Electricity Office and the Construction Jihad of Islamabad, Bakhtaran Province (Western Iran) 21 villages were supplied with electricity networks near the Islamabad township last year, reported an IRNA correspondent in Bakhtaran, the capital of the province.

According to the report, about 14 thousand villagers benefited from electrical facilities as a result of the above-mentioned project.

## Loans Extended to Farmers in Kohkiluyeh and Boyer Ahmad

Yasooj (IRNA)--A total of rials 2,198,861,000 was extended in loans to 13,853 farmers in Kohkilayeh and Boyer Ahmad Province (Western Iran) last year by the Agricultural Bank, reported an IRNA correspondent in Yasooj, the capital of the province.

According to the report, the loans were disbursed for various agricultural plans, including cultivation, irrigation, horticulture, cattle-breeding, poultry-farming, the purchase of farming machines, the establishment of rural installations and the promotion of rural industries and handicrafts.

The amount of the loans showed an increase of more than a hundred percent as compared to the identical period last year.

Meanwhile more than rials 952,331,000 of the bank's outstanding loans were repaid in Islamabad-e Gharb, the report said.

CSO: 4600/525

DAILY VIEWS WAL-FAJR OPERATION, OIL SPILL

GF121725 Tehran IRNA in English 1550 GMT 12 Apr 83

[Text] Tehran, 12 Apr (IRNA)--In its editorial on the Persian Gulf oil slick, and the Wal-Fajr Operations the Persian daily JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI said in its issue today that the on-going thrust against the Iraqi forces is evidence of the fact that in the judgment of the Islamic Republic the ultimate solution to Saddam's adventurism in the region is his fall from power. Excerpts [from editorial]:

Ever since the news of the issue of Iran's oil slick into the Persian Gulf broke out a lot of opportunities which could otherwise be used for controlling the slick have so far been wasted, and the volume of the oil slick is increasing each minute. In addition to the ruining of aquatic life which forms the principal food of the people of the region, water-desalination facilities, too, have practically become inoperative.

But still, it sounds as though some of the governments of the region do not take it too seriously just because there is still plenty of potable water at the royal court houses....

The first phase of the Wal-Fajr Operations under the circumstances, is a sign of Iran's determination to do away with the ruling Ba'th regime in Iraq and to put an end to instability in the region. Once the cause of instability has been identified and eliminated, it is then time to make an effort for returning peace and stability. And only then can the small Persian Gulf states count on the support of the Islamic Republic against foreign enemies....

The peoples of the region have now fully well realised the dastardliness of the ruling regime in Iraq by his scheme for wrecking their desalination facilities, and they have realised that by his efforts for limiting drinking water in those states, Saddam has meant to rouse their feelings against the Islamic Republic, and also pressure the Islamic Republic to respond positively to Baghdad's threats. The Wal-Fajr Operations served to dismay Baghdad. This enterprise is sufficiently alarming and evidence of the fact that in the judgment of the Islamic Republic, the key to solving the issue is the falling down from power of Saddam, and that there is absolutely no other alternative for establishing peace and stability in the region.

CSO: 4600/524

IRAN

BRIEFS

PRC ATHLETIC EXPERTS DUE IN IRAN--Tehran, 13 Apr (IRNA)--A team of athletic experts from People's Republic of China, are due in Tehran next Thursday. The sports federation of the Islamic Republic of Iran announced here today that during its stay in Iran, the team would visit sports facilities of the country and would hold talks with Iranian sports officials on building a ball manufacturing unit in Iran. [Text] [GF131651 Tehran IRNA in English 1635 GMT 13 Apr 83]

ASIAN NEWS AGENCY--New Delhi, 14 Apr (IRNA)--The Islamic Republic of Iran has been chosen as the coordinating center for preparation and dispatch of news to member countries of the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU), it was announced by India's broadcasting minister, H.K.L. Bhagat, Tuesday. Among member countries of Zone "C" of ABU, in addition to Iran are India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The scheme envisaged by ABU will involve television exchange among member countries of Zone "C" as well as the periodic feeding of news stories, by member countries to Iran. Iran will then prepare package of news stories and dispatch them to participating countries. All countries in the Indian subcontinent have responded positively for devising a news exchange system and efforts are continuing to reach a firm arrangement on the modalities for news exchange, information and broadcasting. Also, in case of news of immediate importance, provision had been made for news exchange via satellite. [Text] [GF141700 Tehran IRNA in English 1602 GMT 14 Apr 83]

CSO: 4600/524

TIKKA KHAN TALKS ABOUT TERRORISM, PARTY UNITY

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Mar 83 p 14

[Text]

ATTOCK, March 28: Gen (Retd) Tikka Khan, the Additional Secretary-General of the defunct Pakistan Peoples Party, (PPP) has said that MRD believes adoption of democratic ways for the restoration of democracy in the country, and no political party wants terrorism in the country.

He was talking to newsmen at the residence of Mr. Ahmad Waheed Akhtar, former MNA, Senator and a member of the Central Executive Committee of defunct PPP where he attended a Valima reception of his younger brother Tanveer Akhtar. On this occasion, former Provincial Minister Malik Hakeem Khan, former Punjab Local Bodies Adviser to the Punjab Governor Syed Ashiq Kaleem and other eminent politicians were also present.

The PPP leader said that integrity and solidarity of the country is dear to all political parties except those opposing the 1973 Constitution.

He said if all the political parties gathered on one platform there will be no delay in the restoration of democracy. He strongly opposed the Armed Forces' role in politics and added that their role has been determined in the 1973 Constitution.

He expressed his concern on restrictions on the movement of politicians from one province to the other.

He said it was a matter of concern that the Government had broken all its promises in connection with the holding of general elections.

CSO: 4600/523



JI OFFICIAL CRITICIZES GHAFFAR KHAN

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Mar 83 p 5

[Text]

PESHAWAR, March 28: Qazi Hussain Ahmed, General Secretary of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tehrik-i-Islami has severely criticised Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan for his call for unity among the people on the basis of nationalism. He said this approach was strictly in line with what the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was stressing repeatedly.

Addressing the tribal elders in Darra Adamkhel, Qazi said that the people who were opposed to Afghan refugees in Pakistan and called for unity on the basis of nationhood were the enemies of the country because Muslims could be united only on Holy Quran as unalterable basis.

The Jamaat leader said that the soviet armies had committed aggression and were responsible for the devastation in Afghanistan by killing and ousting millions from their homeland.

The Soviet aggression was aimed not only at reaching the hot waters and oil-rich nations of the Gulf, but also to neutralise Islamic movements throughout the Muslim world, he said.

He warned and regretted that resistance against aggression had been termed as a clash between two super powers.

He appealed to the tribesmen to forget their difference and get united on Holy Quran in order to foil the designs of the enemies of Islam and Pakistan.

BUTT REFUSED ASYLUM IN UNITED KINGDOM

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Mar 83 p 4

[Text]

LONDON, March 28: The British Government refused to give permission to Mr Qayyum Butt, who claims to be the Additional General-Secretary of defunct PPP, to stay in Britain or get his family from Pakistan.

Mr Butt, who was released from Pakistan jail in exchange for PIA passengers hijacked by Al-Zulfiqar terrorists, first went to Kabul then to Libya and finally tried to get into Britain. He was stopped at the airport and detained. When some Labour MPS took up his case with the Home Office, the Home Secretary allowed him to be released on condition that he could stay in Britain till some other country would give him asylum. After when Lord Jenkins of Putney, at the promptings of "Campaign of human rights in Pakistan" asked the Government in the House of Lords if "HMG will allow Mr Butt's wife and family to join him in the UK while his permanent political asylum is being sorted out by the UN Commission for Refugees", on behalf of the Home Secretary, Lord Elton replied: "Mr Butt is under notice of refusal of leave to enter the UK. In these circumstances, there is no basis under the immigration rules to authorise the entry of his dependents to join him and my Rt. Hon. friend, the Home Secretary does not purpose to do so."

CSO: 4600/523

## SOVIET SCHOLAR URGES STRONG TIES WITH PAKISTAN

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Mar 83 p 10

[Text]

MOSCOW, March 28: The Soviet people sincerely want the good-neighbourly USSR-Pakistan relations to grow stronger and develop in the interests of the peoples of both countries, of the peoples of the East and all the countries of the world, observed Prof Y. Gankovsky, in an article devoted to the Pakistan Day.

He said Soviet people wished the people of Pakistan well-being and success in overcoming the grave legacy of the colonial past and in strengthening their national sovereignty.

Prof Gankovsky, a prominent Soviet orientalist well-known in Pakistan, points out that the history of Soviet-Pakistan cooperation vividly shows that it rests on the principles of long-range vital interests of the peoples of both countries.

**Tributes to Qaid**

During the years of independence the good neighbourly cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and Pakistan developed in various spheres of the economy, science, trade, engineering, culture, art and sport.

**Pakistan's economy**

He said: "It is gratifying to note that the mutually advantageous

good-neighbourly cooperation between our peoples promotes the progress and modernisation of Pakistan. A number of industrial projects have been built or are going up in Pakistan with Soviet economic and technical assistance. The Pakistan Steel Mills, one of the biggest industrial enterprises in Asia, has become symbol of Soviet-Pakistani cooperation. Communications facilities and power generation capacities are being built. A power generation unit at the Guddu power station — the biggest in Pakistan — will be put into operation at the end of 1980."

**Soviet assistance**

Prof Gankovsky said: The Soviet Union is also helping Pakistan to train scientific and technical specialists. The loans and credits which the Soviet Union has granted to Pakistan as well as the other types of economic, technical and scientific assistance help the latter to reorganise its economy on a modern scientific and technical basis. Soviet-Pakistani cooperation not only helps Pakistan to become economically more independent, but it provides jobs to many thousands of Pakistani workers. The construction of projects going up with Soviet assistance has be-

come a school where thousands of young Pakistani specialists are trained. They become specialists, the country's economy is badly in need of."

The Soviet scholar said: "The regular visits of men of science and culture, exchanges of films, book and photo exhibitions help to strengthen and develop the Soviet-Pakistani relations. Soviet orientalists are happy to play host to such prominent Pakistani scientists as Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Ahmed Hassan Dani, Hakim Mohammad Said, Dr. Syed Moin-ul-Haq, S.M. Akhtar, M. Anwar and many others.

**Cultural legacy**

"The development of mutually advantageous good-neighbourly relations between the two countries has also its manifestations in their rich cultural legacy and modern literature, poetry, science and art. A vivid expression of this interest in the USSR was the translation and publication in many languages of the peoples of the country of the works of dozens of poets and writers of Pakistan. The books by the great Mohammad Iqbal alone were published in the Soviet Union more than 30 times," Prof Gankovsky concluded.—PPI.

## PLEA MADE FOR KARACHI TO RETAIN PART OF REVENUE

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Mar 83 P 11

[Text]

Karachi's normal city life is disturbed after regular intervals, on one pretext or the other. The reason is utter frustration which at times takes a political or sectarian turn. The bureaucratic explanation is that all this is done by a handful of people hired by the vested interest. Even if this be true, why it is so that a Suzuki load of miscreants are always enough to paralyse the normal life in Liaquatabad, Gulbahar, Burns Road or such other places?

The reason is obvious. The common man of Karachi is always tense. He lives under heavy pressures and constant stresses and strains. He works round the clock like a machine and is still not able to meet his two ends. A spark lit in any corner of Karachi suddenly engulfs the entire city in flame because the majority is in the same mental state.

Anything which happens in Karachi cannot remain localised. It immediately spreads all over the country. The reason is simple. The people of Karachi are not other than those belonging to and coming from the various provinces and parts of Pakistan who have by the passage of time developed common interest. It is a cosmopolitan city and a "mini-Pakistan" in the real sense of the word.

The moment Karachi's normal life is disturbed, its production potential is adversely affected, which in turn has a very detrimental effect on the national economy as: 47% of industries are based in Karachi and it is the city which alone contributes 64% of the tax income to the Federal exchequer.

Also, 35% of the labour force of the entire country is housed in Karachi as also most of the sensitive national projects. Thus, it is in the national interest that Karachi's life is kept normal at all costs.

The only thing required is that common man of Karachi be given a sense of security and peace of mind. He is a peace-loving, patriotic Muslim and wants to lead an honourable life. What he wants is the basic necessities of life for which he is prepared to pay. The fact is that he is not getting these basic facilities for which he is paying regularly.

It is so because the civic services infra-structure was planned for much less a population and a saturation point has reached when this infra-structure cannot bear any further load.

Karachi is known as the most developed city of Pakistan but it is disheartening to note that only 38% of its households have water connections. Likewise, only 28% housing units have sewerage connections. Only 22% biological waste of the city can be treated and the remaining 140 MGD. plus 50 MGD from the Hub Dam goes under ground causing serious rise in water table and un-hygenic conditions. The conditions are so alarming that 85% patients in Karachi hospitals are due to bad water. There is acute shortage of water, transport, electricity and gas. The education and health facilities have also become alarmingly inadequate.

No doubt, Karachi is no more the Federal capital and is within the territorial jurisdiction of the pro-

vince of Sind, but the Federal government should not be obsessed because of the physical boundaries as they have big stakes in Karachi. Federal projects like Pakistan Steel, Karachi Port, Port Qasim, Pakistan National Shipping, National Refinery and now Hydro-Cracker unit are all situated in Karachi. Housing as well as infrastructure is being provided to these federal projects by the civic agencies working here. The Federal government should also appreciate that whatever is invested or spent in Karachi benefits the entire country. Not only indirectly but also directly because of high value Federal capital assets. Then the people of Karachi are no other than those belonging to and coming from all provinces and parts of Pakistan. In a way, all urban centres provide such opportunities for social exchange but no urban centre in the world has done it on the scale of Karachi.

Karachi is thus more of a Federal responsibility than of Sind. The Federal government should realise its responsibilities and should come forward to save the civic infrastructure of the city from total collapse. The people of other provinces who have migrated to the city and have started living in "Kutchi Abadis" do not pay for any of the services they enjoy. Because of this, the genuine tax payers of Karachi do not get service for which they actually pay. The Federal government should, in all fairness, pay for the services the city is providing to the people of other provinces. The city is not demanding any ad hoc relief grant or charity. It is the city which contributes 64% of the tax income to the federal government and produces 42%

industrial produce of the Country. Truly speaking, it is the city which is helping the entire country financially.

It will not be asking too much if we demand that this city be allowed to retain certain percentage of its income for the maintenance of its services. This is not a new demand either. At the time of shifting of capital from Karachi there was a system known as "Raiseman Award" according to which a certain percentage of the income of the city was necessarily spent on the maintenance of the services of the city. A revised arrangement will serve the purpose.

If Karachi be allowed to retain just 20% of its income and the rest 80% is spent by the Federal government for other purposes, it would serve the purpose. Out of this amount, Karachi would not only be able to improve and maintain the civic services in Karachi but will also be able to help other urban centres of the province to sustain their civic infra-structure. The Federal Govt. will not be a loser either. In the first years, its total receipts will, no doubt, be affected. But with its improved services Karachi will definitely increase its tax income and within few years, Federal government will be earning more from Karachi than it is getting today.

If this is not done, not only the production capabilities and potential of the city will be badly affected which will have its repercussions at the national level but Karachi will continue to be a sore point. This hard fact must be realised — earlier the better.

KHANUM GAUHAR ALJAZ  
Karachi.

CSO: 4600/523

PLEA FOR UNITY AMONG MRD WORKERS

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Mar 83 p 14

[Text]

HYDERABAD, March 28: The Central leader of MRD Mairaj Mohammad Khan and Secretary-General, Khawaja Khairuddin, here on Monday urged the MRD workers to forge unity in their ranks and continue the struggle for restoration of democracy in the country.

Addressing workers at the residence of Mr Usman Kenedy, the MRD General Secretary, Hyderabad, they said that people could no longer be deprived of democratic rights and restoration of unadulterated democracy for long. They said that in the absence of democracy the country was in the grip of chaos and confusion, inflation, unemployment, and insecurity had become the order of the day.

They said that politicians were being defamed in a systematic manner. They demanded the holding of general elections in the country immediately and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

Earlier, on arrival from Karachi, the MRD leaders visited the residence of late Noor Mohammad, a leading advocate of Sind High Court. They offered Fateha and expressed condolence with the bereaved family. Both the leaders will again address workers tomorrow.

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PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

BUGTI AS MRD HEAD--Quetta, 8 Apr (Correspondent)--Nawab Akbar Bugti, former governor of Baluchistan, said here in a statement that MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] could not perform an effective role without an effective leadership. He said the big problem for MRD had been the absence of a stable leadership, and this problem cannot be solved unless some prominent person, who is not aligned with any political party and is acceptable to all, is entrusted with the leadership of MRD. Mr Khudae Nur, head of the defunct Tehrik-e Istaqlal, Baluchistan and TI's central joint secretary Mr Anwar Durrani also spoke on the occasion. They expressed agreement with Mr Bugti's views and suggested that Mr Bugti was highly suited to head MRD. Mr Khudae Nur said he planned to propose Mr Bugti's name as [permanent] chairman of MRD in the next meeting of its central committee. Nawab Bugti said that if the offer was made to him, he would accept it. Mr Durrani remarked that MRD at present could be compared to Dr Clarke, whose artificial heart could stop functioning at any moment. [Text] [Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 9 Apr 83 p 1, 10]

FORMER MINISTER ON DENATIONALIZATION--Mubashar, Sahiwal, March 28--A former Federal Minister of Finance, Dr Mubashar Hasan, has said the return of nationalised factories to their owners has failed to raise production, and inflation is also increasing. Talking to members of former National and Provincial Assemblies, he said he had told ex-Prime Minister Bhutto that if the exploiting class within the PPP was not crushed, Martial Law would be enforced here. The ex-Prime Minister had even ordered to be on guard against the exploiting class but those orders were not obeyed. He said there was no shortage of power production but regretted that all resources were not being properly utilised.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 29 Mar 83 p 5]

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END